

sufferings, being banished on that account, says, "he was endowed with so many, and HENRY II. A. D. 1189. such excellent, gifts both of nature and grace, that there was not a prince in the world comparable to him: and if he had but shewed a little more deference to the church¹, no encomium could come up to his merit." That affair was of a very delicate nature, and considering the notions and circumstances of the times, any other prince would have sunk under it: but he conducted himself in it with great firmness, as well as prudence; and under all the disadvantages, in which the murder of that prelate involved him², he came out of it, without giving up any one point of the royal prerogative for which he contended, or any one custom, which the other opposed. The rebellion of his three eldest sons, supported by all the power of *France, Flanders, and Scotland*, as well as by the defection of the most powerful of his nobility, was of a nature still more dangerous: yet what would have ruined a monarch of less admirable talents, served only to raise his glory. The mutinous temper, and repeated revolts of his children, hindered him from completing the conquest of *Ireland*, and settling the government of it on such a foot, as might have preserved it in the *English* subjection: yet he died in the possession of more power, and larger dominions, than any of his successors ever enjoyed; and the unusual calamities, which attended his sons, were deemed by all the world a just judgment upon them, for their unnatural behaviour.

HENRY was of a fair, ruddy complexion, light hair, round face, middle stature, and exact proportion; his eyes blew, very beautiful, mild and engaging, when he was in good humour, but stern and sparkling, as lightening, when he was in a passion; in which he was sometimes surprized by sudden provocations, though a moment's reflection brought him to himself, and when he expected shocks, no man had ever a greater command of his temper³. He was strong in the arms, broad chested, fleshy, and inclined to be corpulent: but kept down his fat by a constant series of exercises and fatigues. He was very temperate and sober, or rather abstinent in point of meat and drink; never indulging himself in either, or indeed in any respect, either in peace or war; for what time he had to spare, was not given to rest, but employed either in reading, riding, or walking. When he had set out very early in the morning to hunt, and had spent the whole day in that diversion, he minded the fatigue so little, that upon his return in the evening, he scarce ever sat down either before or after supper: but used to tire all his court with continual standing; and suffered himself so much by this practice, never sitting but whilst he eat or rode, that it was supposed to be, in conjunction with the kicks he received from horses, the cause of the swelling of his legs, and to have hastened the breaking of his constitution. He was eloquent and persuasive in his discourse, which was ever judicious, knowing well what to say, and when to be silent; agreeable and facetious in his ordinary conversation; easy in his carriage; affable and courteous in his reception of persons; infinitely good-natured; and the politest prince of the age; very compassionate to all in distress, and always ready to give them relief. It was this goodness of his nature, that made him, in the beginning of his reign⁴, abolish the infamous and inhuman practices, which had prevailed, till his time, on all the

¹ By the church here can be meant only the particular church of *Rome*, and the papal authority; to which *Henry* was indeed no friend, and endeavoured to reduce the power of the Pope, as low here, as it had been in the days of his grandfather. But as the author of a *Life of Becket*, wrote by a monk of *Canterbury*, two years after that prelate's death, and preserved in manuscript in the library of *Lambeth*, observes, the king's sole view was to serve the church of *England*; to assert her independency; and to make the archbishop of *Canterbury*'s court the *demer ressort* in all ecclesiastical causes, without

admitting any appeal to *Rome*. So that *Henry* was really the champion for those rights and liberties of the church of *England*, and of the see of *Canterbury*, which *Becket* laboured, with all his might, to subvert, and subject to the court of *Rome*. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 523, 524.

² *Girald. Cambrenj.* in *Anglia Sacra*. ii. 430.

³ *Petr. Blesens. Epist. Archiepiscopo Panormitano. Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 45. ⁴ *Nubrig.* l. iii. c. 26. *Gesta Consulum Andegav. in Dacherii Spicil.* t. x. p. 406.

HENRY II. *sea coasts of England*, where persons that had suffered shipwreck met with barbarous usage; enjoining all manner of good offices to be done them, and punishing with great severity all, that either stole their goods, or abused their persons. It was this moved him to assign constantly the tenth part of his household provisions to be distributed to the poor: and ¹ in a bad year, when corn was become extremely scarce in *Anjou* and *le Maine*, he maintained ten thousand needy persons every day from *April 1*, till after harvest; and ordered all his storehouses for meat and drink to be opened, for the use of all that stood in need of relief. He ² had very great natural parts, with a solid judgment; and these much improved by an uncommon degree of learning; to which he had applied himself from his earliest youth: and never afterwards intermitted his studies, except on the necessary calls of health or business; making some point or other thereof, the chief subject of his discourse with learned men; whom he always exceedingly caressed, and took great delight in their conversation. In this respect nature had been very kind, in giving him an advantage of infinite service to a man of his just observation and cool reflection; it was a prodigious memory, which never allowed him to forget any person he had ever seen, or any thing he had either read or heard, that was worth notice: and by this means he was perfectly versed in history, and had always ready for use the experience of all ages. He was brave in armes, but still with prudence, taking care to provide against all accidents; he excelled in military skill, and was intrepid in all the dangers of a field of battle: yet loved peace and applied all his endeavours to preserve it; abhorring bloodshed so much, that he regretted every common soldier that fell in the field, and never entered into a war, but in case of absolute necessity; and then none was ever more active and vigorous in its prosecution, though none was ever more merciful in his treatment of a vanquished enemy. He was universally allowed to be the greatest politician of the age, wise in council, considerate in all his measures; moderate in prosperity, firm in adversity; constant in his friendship and affections; but equally so in his aversions; which he did not easily get over, when once contracted. He hated pride above all things; was always stately to the proud; whilst in talking to the poor and humble, he overflowed with kindness: he was ever liberal in point of almes, and on all publick occasions, though parsimonious in private matters; and his bounty was exercised more upon strangers, than his own domesticks; yet if we may judge by the wealth of some of these last, taken notice of in history, or by the grants to others mentioned in the pipe rolls of his reign, they did not want rewards for their services. The monk of *Marmoutier*, who wrote the *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium*, compares him to *Cato* for integrity: and *Johannis Saburiensis*³, speaking of his virtues, distinguishes particularly his courage, vigour, magnificence, prudence, modesty from his earliest youth; and says, these were too known a part of his character for envy, either to deny or dissemble; and he was so much of a piece in other respects, *that it was impossible to recount all his virtues*.

THERE is one flaw in his private character, taken notice of by ancient writers; who charge him with incontinency; and date generally the commencement of it after the rebellion of his sons and the confinement of queen *Eleanor*. I have already shewn their mistake, as to the time of his affair with *Rosamund*⁴; whose two sons, though elder in age, were brought up with the king's legitimate children: and there is not the least ground to surmise, that he ever acknowledged any other natural issue. The monks were fond of propagating and encouraging any idle story to the prejudice of this king's character: and though *Henry*, so continually taken up with

¹ *Benedict.* p. 215. *Diceto*, col. 589.² *Petr. Blesens.* *ib.*³ *Polierut.* l. vi. c. 18.⁴ *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 378.

business, that he had not a moment of his time unemployed, ought to be little HENRY II. suspected of the vices and amusements of the idle world, such as lewdness is: yet A. D. 1189. *Brompton* and others charge him with having an amour with *Adelais* of *France*, designed for his son *Richard*, according to a treaty made *A. D. 1169*, but both too young at that time for marriage, and never affianced. Her being kept in *England* from that year till *Henry's* death; *Richard's* eagerness in demanding her for his wife a few months before his father's decease, and rejecting her afterwards, even with her brother *Philip's* ¹ consent; and a formal story (the scene whereof was laid in *Sicily*) of *Richard* then known to be affianced to his wife *Berengaria*, his proving *Adelais* to be delivered of a son, which was thought to have been gotten by his father, are the pretences of this imputation. But the young princess was not fit for marriage, till after the rebellion of *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*, had made the king apprehensive of the dangers of *Richard's* being too closely united with *France* by such an alliance: and yet he might be willing to have her married to his son *John*, who might want the assistance of that crown, to support him against an elder brother, rough, violent, and obstinate. This indeed seems at last to be his design; *Richard's* demand of her was a mere grimace, designed only to distress his father, and to throw a difficulty in the way of the scheme in favour of his younger brother; he might have other reasons for rejecting *Adelais*, besides her being got with child, and he was not a man to be constrained to any thing against his inclinations. I am apt to take the story of her being debauched, whether by *Henry* or by any body else, to be mere surmise, and an effect of the impertinent guesses of people, in order to account for an event; the reasons whereof they did not understand. As the frailties of kings are ever conspicuous, and exercise the curiosity of the world, it seems very strange, that if *Henry* really had a son by her, no memorial of him, not so much as his name, should be ever preserved by any writer; nor any notice at all be taken of him, either by his father, or the sons and successors of that father; who in the language, and according to the practice, of that age, would have called him their brother, and have treated him as such in many respects.

HOWEVER this matter was, *Henry's* publick conduct as a king, was certainly without reproach: and it is a great misfortune, that the particular methods and regulations, which he observed and made, in the course of his civil administration, have not been transmitted to us by cotemporary writers. Had this been done, we should not have been at a loss to distinguish the just bounds of the royal prerogative, and the true rights of the subject in those days; when the former was equitably exerted by, and the latter were fully enjoyed under, the wisest and best of our kings; for no prince was ever more averse to ² oppression, cruelty, and tyranny. The good of his people was the reigning passion of his soul, and the chief principle of all his actions³; it was for this end that he loved and cultivated peace, and that he made alliances; that he went every day to council, as regularly as he went to divine service; that he convened so many general councils (called by *Robert* of *Gloucester* parliaments) in every year of his abode in *England*; not for the grant of supplies, or to fleece his subjects, but purely to have their advice, in making wholesome ordinances for the publick welfare. It was for this end, that he was so careful in providing for the due administration of justice, looking out every where for men of the greatest probity and capacity ⁴ to be employed as his justiciaries, that it might be distributed with all possible impartiality and equity: nor did he yet trust them implicitly in that point, but kept himself a strict watch over their conduct. This was the reason why he resided so rarely, and for so short a time, in any of his palaces, and was

¹ *Rymer*, i. 68.² *Dicto*, col. 582.³ *Petr. Blesens. ib. Neubrig. ib.*⁴ *Dicto*, col. 605, 606.

HENRY II. so continually making progresses through every part of his dominions, to inspect the behaviour of his officers; punishing such as abused their power with an exemplary severity¹, but none with greater, than the judges, that he found guilty of doing wrong, and perverting justice. In these progresses, and indeed at all times, his ears were still open to the complaints of the poor and oppressed²; his attention was constantly exercised in their behalf: it was ever a part of his instructions to his justiciaries, to take particular care of widows, orphans, the indigent and distressed, the infirm and the miserable, who ever found in him a most generous patron and benefactor. It was for their sake, and for the protection of the innocent, that he was vigilant and active in the discovery and prosecution of notorious malefactors, concerned in rapes, murders, robberies, and depredations, and so severe in executing the laws which punished those crimes capitally, that they were soon extirpated, and good order, with its attendants, tranquillity, industry, and plenty, established in every quarter of his kingdom. Humanity and mercy, wisdom and equity directed every part of his conduct in the exercise of his authority: and though he loved hunting as much as any of his predecessors, he took off the severity of their forest-laws, which punished the violation thereof with death, or amputation of limbs; the highest penalty, that he inflicted on such offenders³, being only a short imprisonment, or temporary exile; posterity reaping the benefit of this mitigation, which served for a precedent or rule to his successors. His forests were horribly wasted, and his deer, boars, and other venison destroyed during the rebellion of his three sons; and some complaints are made by writers, on account of the prosecution of persons concerned in that destruction: but besides, that the offenders had been generally dipped in that rebellion, there are not twenty-five instances, in which the fines laid upon them, amount to an hundred marks, the rest are small, and the number of persons inconsiderable, as well at that time, as throughout his reign, as appears by the pipe-rolls (particularly that of his twenty-second year) wherein those fines are accounted for by the sheriffs. This too was probably done for example, and to prevent offenders from repeating in more orderly times those crimes, which they would otherwise have committed in a time of disorder with impunity. For he did not make use of that rebellion, to squeeze money from his people; being well satisfied with the fidelity, which the body of the nation, truly sensible of their own happiness under an excellent prince, had shewn to him in that time of trial; when notwithstanding so many great men were concerned in the conspiracy, they were forced to depend on *Scots, Flemings*, and other foreigners, to carry on their enterprize.

NEVER was the clemency of a prince so nobly and gloriously displayed, as this king's was on that occasion: it was equally the effect of his intrepid courage, consummate wisdom, true magnanimity, and unbounded good will to his subjects. He had infinite numbers of them in his power, either taken prisoners in battle, or surrendered with fortresses at discretion, during the most unnatural rebellion, that perhaps ever was upon earth: but he did not put so much as one man to death, and he even restored all to their estates, which had been confiscated of course upon their rebellion. *Adam de Port's* treasons were discovered just before that rebellion broke out; and flying from justice, he was convicted and outlawed: but though this man had, by not trusting to the mercy of a generous prince, rendered himself undeserving of a pardon, it appears from⁴ the pipe-rolls, that he restored him afterwards to the possession of all his vast estate, as well in *England* as *Normandie*. Nor did he ever punish any treason (a crime too rise among the gentry in his time, whilst they were currying favour with his sons) more severely than by banishment,

¹ *Petr. Blefensf. ib.* ² *Diceto*, col. 582. *Neubrig. ib.* *Topogr. Hibern. Dist. iii. c. 48.*
³ *Neubr. ib.* ⁴ *Rot. Mag. Pip. 26 Hen. ii. Sudbanteschire.*

which he easily and soon remitted; so ready was he to forgive the most enormous HENRY II. offences against himself; whilst he was inexorable in punishing the crimes of those A. D. 1189. that preyed on his subjects. Their happiness was the great object which he had ever in view, and which gave him the most sensible pleasure: and it was to this king, that this nation owes its release from the heavy tax of *Danegeld*, which though collected in some instances in the second ¹, and in two or three in the third year of his reign, perhaps as arrears from the time of his predecessor, was never raised afterwards.

It is really amazing how *Henry* could support all his wars, and other occasions of expence, without laying so much as one tax upon his people²: for the two, that were laid upon them in his time (*viz.*) in the twelfth, and the last years of his reign, by the advice of the great council, were not for his use, but for the relief of the *Holy Land*; a charity ordinary in those days among all the *Christians* of the West, and to which vast sums were contributed by the king himself. I do not reckon *scutages* among the taxes, it being only a commutation in money in lieu of that personal service in war, which all the king's military tenants were obliged to by the conditions of the tenure, on which their estates were granted. The lands of bishops and ecclesiasticks were held upon that tenure, and they were obliged, as well as others, to personal service: but some of them being more scrupulous than others in that respect, and not caring to serve in person, got indulgences for themselves, and also for their knights, upon making a pecuniary payment (called *scutage*) in lieu of their personal service, and some monasteries were favoured so much, as in certain cases, to procure an entire exemption. ³ Thus the bishops and abbots, who did not serve personally in the king's expedition, *A. D. 1155*, into the marches of *Wales* against *Hugh de Mortimer*, and others, who held out *Clebury*, *Wigmore*, and other castles as well in *Wales*, as on the borders against him, paid *scutage*: but none of the laity were admitted to such a composition in money, till the fifth of this king, when he undertook the expedition against *Toulouse*. *Henry*, always consulting the convenience of his vassals, allowed them to compound on that occasion, in some cases for a gross sum, in others at a certain rate in proportion to their fees: and this was a wonderful ease to all the military tenants of the crown; these rates being much less than the bare expence of their personal service, and they being freed thereby from other great inconveniencies, as well as dangers attending it; the benefit whereof descended likewise to their posterity by this method's becoming an ordinary practice. It would be injustice to the memory of this excellent prince not to take notice on this occasion of a moderation, which may be observed in all his conduct: for though he had the same right to such *scutages*, as a landlord hath to the rents and services of his tenants, he levied very few; and ⁴ besides certain sums accounted for in his eighth year on that account ⁵, there are but two more mentioned in all the rolls of his time, *viz.* in the ⁶ eighteenth and twenty-third years of his reign, as paid by those that neither went themselves, nor had sent their knights to attend him, in his expeditions to *Ireland* in the former year, and to *Galloway* in that last mentioned. The aid given on account of his daughter *Maude's* marriage to *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, was no more than an ordinary condition of the tenure of lands, which all tenants were to pay in virtue of their first grant or investiture, whenever a king or a lord's eldest daughter was to be married. When *Henry* disposed of his two younger daughters, to the kings of *Castille* and *Sicily*, he asked no aid of his subjects: ⁷ and with regard to that for *Maude*, so far was he from being rigorous in

¹ See *Rotul. Pip.* 2, 3 *Hen. ii.* ² *Bibl. Cotton. Julius A. viii. Chron. Reg. Angl. a Bruto ad E. iii.* ³ *Rot. Pip.* 2 *Hen. ii.* ⁴ *Ib.* 8 *Hen. ii.*

⁵ Whether these were arrears of the *scutage* of *Toulouse*, or raised on the continuance of the *French* war, is uncertain, though I incline to the former

opinion, because the particular occasion is not mentioned in the *pipe-roll*, though usually done in the case of a new *scutage*.

⁶ *Rot. Pip.* 18 and 22 *Hen. ii.*

⁷ *Ib.* 14 *Hen. ii.* *Guermesire Suffexa, Somerset.*

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exacting it according to the rate of one mark a knight's fee, which the great lords paid, that he took less from others, particularly from *Richier de l'Aigle*, only at the rate of eight shillings and four-pence for each knight's fee, and from *Philip de Colombieres*, at the rate of a noble. There was undoubtedly a very great difference in the value of some knights fees from others, as well in regard of the goodness, as of the quantity of land, which they contained; some knights likewise were less able to bear the expence, either of a personal service, or of a composition for it, than others: and *Henry*, ever considerate, equitable, and averse to lay an unequal burden on any one, took care to make allowances in such cases. Thus a little before his death, in the urgent necessity he was under¹ of having the assistance of all his vassals, he summoned the poor and indigent, as well as others, but this was contrary to his custom, and only owing to the greatness and suddenness of his distress. Thus when the *scutage* was levied upon the knights, that did not go with the king to *Galloway*, at the rate of twenty shillings a knight's fee, it was charged upon smaller fees² in *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Dorset*, &c. only at twelve shillings and six-pence a fee: and that this was used in former *scutages*, is plain from the plea made by *William de Cabaines*, who being charged nine pounds for nine knights, maintained that his knight's fees were but small, and he ought to payed but twelve shillings and six-pence for each: which plea was allowed by the justiciaries.

It was not the extent of *Henry's* dominions, though larger than any either of his predecessors or successors enjoyed, so much as his admirable œconomy, and good management of his ordinary revenue, that enabled him thus to exercise his humanity and tenderness to his subjects, at the same time that he was involved in foreign wars; and when these intermitted, was yet laying out great sums, either in the fortification of his frontier castles, and places of strength, or in building new palaces, and beautifying the old royal houses, with parks, ponds, and other ornaments, to render them more convenient and magnificent. There never was a reign, either before or after his, in which the people of this nation were so entirely free from all manner of taxes, burdens, grievances, and complaints: and it is chiefly to him, that their posterity at this day are indebted for the custom of juries, and some other institutions, which they esteem as the best part of their constitution. The only persons that appear unkind to his memory, are the monkish writers, prejudiced by the affair of *Becket*, and angry at their possessions being taxed to the *Saladine* tenth, for the relief of *Palestine*; which yet was paid in all other countries of *Europe*, and granted by their own superiors: and it would have been infamous in them, not to have contributed themselves to a *Croisade*, in which, by their preaching and exhortations, they endeavoured to draw all the world to engage. The king was certainly very pious and serious in point of religion; though he was not fond of shewing his piety in the modish way of founding monasteries, and endowing them with privileges destructive of discipline and order; having too much reason, from his own experience, to look upon them, as so many seminaries of sedition, malevolence, turbulency, and disorders. It must be owned, for the honour of the secular clergy, that they always stood by the king, even in his dispute with *Becket*: and he well deserved it at their hands³; for he really loved and honoured their persons and character; he took them under his particular care and protection; being full as careful to preserve their rights and possessions, as he was of his own demesnes. He never laid, like other princes, on pretence of necessity, any tribute, tax, or other burden on any church or monastery: and he was careful in filling all ecclesiastical dignities with men of merit (so that he would not let his own son enjoy the see of *Lincoln*, till he had qualified himself by his learning for the see) being an utter enemy to all flattery, corruption, and simony. He is charged indeed with keeping bishopricks

¹ *Gervaf. col. 1544.*

² *Rot. Pip. 33 Hen. ii.*

³ *Neubrig. ut supra.*

vacant, with a view to enjoy the mean profits: but the charge is unjust, since he never kept any vacant longer than the usual time; when he was able to fill them (which could not be done during his dispute with *Becket*) or was not out of the kingdom, and he took immediate care to fill them upon his return. Whoever examines the succession of bishops in each see during his reign, will find this to be the case; except in two instances (*viz.*) of *Lincoln*, to which his natural son *Geffrey* was elected, and being confirmed, enjoyed its revenue without being consecrated, till a successor was provided immediately upon his resignation; and of *York*. This last, after the death of archbishop *Roger*, at the latter end of *November*, *A. D.* 1181, he designed for the same son, as soon as he could be spared from his secular affairs, in which he did him eminent services; who accordingly enjoyed it afterwards, and proved an excellent prelate. No privileged place or sanctuary¹, no ecclesiastical character could indeed screen robbers, plunderers, murderers, and the like notorious malefactors from punishment: they were drawn from their places of refuge; tried in his courts; and suffered according to law; but this was purely an effect of his zeal for justice. It was inconsistent with his dignity, to let privileges be extorted from him by force; and therefore he withstood *Becket* in his attempts for usurping them: but he never invaded any of the real and just privileges of the clergy; and supporting these (as ² *Neubrigensis* says) in all cases, he added of his own free will several others, to which they had no pretensions; particularly an exemption from all publick charges, tolls, and burdens; for which the clergy, to this day, are obliged to this prince, as their predecessors for some ages were for their claim of exemption from the courts of law (except in cases of advowsons, lay-fees, and transgressions of the forest) being put into a legal, regular, and constant method. When this king, whose reign every good subject wished to be as immortal as his memory, came to die in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, the monks so full of malevolence, and complaints against him, soon found the difference between him and his successors: and, as the same author says, felt to their sorrow, *the little finger of his sons heavier upon them, than the loins of the father*.

HENRY had, by his wife *Eleanor*, five sons, and three daughters. The sons were, 1. *William*, who was born on *August* 17, *A. D.* 1152, and dying in *A. D.* 1156, was buried in the abbey of *Reading*. 2. *Henry*, whose birth, coronation, and death, have been already mentioned. 3. *Richard*, born at *Oxford*, in *September*, *A. D.* 1157, who succeeded his father in the throne. 4. *Geffrey*, who was born on *September* 3, *A. D.* 1158, and dying on *August* 19, *A. D.* 1186, was buried in the cathedral of *Paris*. And 5. *John*, surnamed *Sans terre*, who was born at *Oxford*, on *Christmas-eve*, *A. D.* 1166, and got possession of the crown of *England*, upon the death of his brother *Richard*. The daughters were, 1. *Maude*, born *A. D.* 1156, who being married to *Henry*, surnamed, *the Lion*, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, died about the same time as her father. 2. *Eleanor*, born *A. D.* 1161³, at *Danfront*, and married to *Alonso* VIII, king of *Castille*, before the year 1176, when the dispute between that prince and the king of *Navarre* was referred to the king of *England*. 3. *Joane*, born in *October*, *A. D.* 1164, in *Normandie*; married, in *A. D.* 1176, to *William* II, king of *Sicily*; and after his death, *A. D.* 1189, remarried to *Raimond* VI, count of *Toulouse*. She died *A. D.* 1199, and was buried in the nunnery of *Fon-*

¹ *Knighton*, col. 2400. ² *L. iii. c. 26.*

³ *Robert de Thorigny*, called generally *Robert de Monte*, as being abbot of *Mont S. Michel*, was one of her godfathers, with cardinal *Henry*, the Pope's legate, and *Achard* bishop of *Auranches*: and in his continuation of *Sigebert's* chronicle, *Eleanor's* birth is fixed at the latter end of 1162, but it was undoubtedly in *A. D.* 1161, because the king kept the *Christmas* following at *Bayeux*; and the publishers

of the edition of that chronicle finished at *Paris*, *June* 1, *A. D.* 1513, have from the year 1158 (which is twice marked) to *A. D.* 1177, made a mistake in the year of our Lord put in the margin; all the events arranged under each year during that interval, belonging really to the year before, as will appear evidently to any one, who compares that author with the cotemporary historians.

HENRY II. *tervaul.* Henry had likewise, by the fair *Rosamund*, two natural sons (*viz.*) *William Longuespé*, to whom *Richard I.* gave the earldom of *Salisbury*, with *Ela*, daughter and heir of *William D'Eureux*; and *Geffrey* archbishop of *Turk*, born ¹*A. D.* 1151. There was likewise one *Morgan*, a *Welshman*, provost of *Beverley* ², who pretended to be begotten by him on the lady of a knight, named *Ralf Bloet*; and who, in *A. D.* 1213, was, in contempt of king *John's* commendatory letters in favour of others, chosen by the unanimous voices of the monks of the chapter, bishop of *Durham*. Going to *Rome* for consecration, it was objected to him that he was a bastard; but the Pope being inclined to favour him, or else not believing that he was really the king's son (for the court of *Rome* did not use to scruple admitting the natural sons of princes) offered, if he would say that he was a knight's son, he would confirm his election. *Morgan* rejected the proposal; declaring that he would not renounce the honour of being sprung of royal blood, to obtain any dignity whatever: and thus lost that wealthy bishoprick. The Pope's offer seems to imply, that there was no other proof of the man's being a natural son to *Henry*, than his own assertion; for otherwise he could not regularly have made such an offer in a controverted election: but all ages, as well as this, have produced some such wrong-headed mortals, who have, without any foundation, besides their own ridiculous vanity, either taken it into their heads to fancy, or have endeavoured to palm upon the world, a notion, that they were the base issue of princes.

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 388.² *Ib.*

R I C H A R D I.

RICHARD I. **LII.** **R**ICHARD, surnamed, from his intepidity, *Cœur de Lion*, succeeding his father in the throne of *England*, began his reign with an act, which if not excused by some provocation now unknown, was enough to make his subjects expect from him every thing that was arbitrary and violent. *Stephen de Tours* was a man of low birth, but great talents: and had by his capacity, diligence, and fidelity, recommended himself so much to *Henry*, that he had made him senechal of *Anjou* ¹; entrusted him as well with the government of several castles in that province, as with the keeping of his treasure; and given him a lady of noble birth and great fortune in marriage. *Richard*, as soon as his father's funeral was over, seized upon this man; loaded him with irons, till he had delivered up, not only the treasure and forts entrusted to his care, but every penny of his own money: and having thus stripped him of forty-five thousand pounds *Angevin* money (as *Richard* of the *Devises* says) took away his wife from him, caused them to be divorced on account of his being an unsuitable match for her, through the ignobility of his descent; and declaring that he would, by his own authority, in a legal way, annul all such unequal marriages. It may perhaps, after this treatment, appear strange, that he continued *Stephen* in his post, and employed him afterwards in managing the revenue of *Anjou*: but it is not the only instance of the inequality of this prince's behaviour. There ² was more good sense and judgment in his general conduct towards those who had served his father in his councils, or in civil and military employments: he had sufficient opportunities of knowing the integrity or infidelity of each; and continued all in their posts that had been faithful to their late master; discarding the

¹ *Benedict*, p. 547, 548. *Hoveden*. *Brompton*, col. 1254, 1154. ² See *Benedict*, p. 554, 567, 568. *rell*,

rest, who deserting *Henry's* service, had adhered to him in his rebellion. These last, RICHARD I. A. D. 1189. whether ecclesiasticks or lay-men, he turned out of his court, and hated for ever after; not thinking them likely to be more faithful to himself, than they had been to his father: and when *Guy de la Val* the younger, *Ralf de Fougères*, and *Judaël de Mayenne*, demanded to be restored to their lands and castles (which being forfeited in former rebellions had been seized by *Henry*) in recompence of their services to him in his last revolt, he did indeed put them in possession thereof, according to his convention with them; but turned them out again the next day, saying, that such as deserted their lords, and assisted others against them, deserved only to be rewarded in that manner.

THE king having settled the affairs of *Guienne* and *Anjou* to his mind¹, went into *Normandie*: and meeting the archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Reims* at *Secz*, was absolved by them of his crime of taking up arms against his father, after he had engaged in the *Croisade*². On *Thursday, July 20*, he was invested at *Roüen*, with the ducal sword and banner of *Normandie*: and then received the homage and fealties of all the nobility of the province, gracing the solemnity with some acts of favour. Thus he gave his niece *Maude* to *Geffrey*, son of *Rotrou*, count of *Perche*; to his favourite *William Marechal*, the daughter of *Richard Strongbow* in marriage, with the honour of *Strigull*; and to *Gilbert*, son³ of *Roger Fitz Rainfroy*, the late king's steward of the household, *Heloise*, daughter and heir of *William de Lancaster*, baron of *Kendal*. He confirmed to his brother *John* the four thousand marks a year in *England*, and the county of *Mortain* in *Normandie*, which had been granted him by his father; besides the honour of *Gloucester*, which he was to enjoy with the late earl's daughter: and gave the royal assent to his⁴ natural brother *Geffrey's* election to the see of *York*; though he soon after disturbed him in the enjoyment of its temporalties, and seized the castles of *Baugé* and *Langeais*, which *Henry* had given him in the territories of *Touraine* and *Anjou*, till he had squeezed from *Geffrey* two thousand pounds for restoring him to his rights and possessions. *Richard* had⁵, on the *Saturday* following, a conference between *Chaumont* and *Trie*, with the king of *France*; who restoring the places he had taken in the late war, demanded of him *Gisors*: but on the former's promising to add four thousand marks to the twenty thousand, which his father had agreed to pay for the expences of the war, he thought fit to wave the demand. Thus having provided for his foreign affairs, the king set out for *England*: and landed on *Sunday, August 13*, at *Portsmouth*.

QUEEN *Eleanor* his mother⁶, whose jointure he increased with those of king *Henry* the first and *Stephen's* queens, had hitherto exercised under him, the government of this kingdom: and had been empowered to publish an act of grace; remitting all fines for transgressions of the forest, and setting all criminals and prisoners at liberty, except such, as owning their guilt, had accused their accomplices; who were either to abjure the realm, or be continued in prison. This was a step, which carrying with it an air of clemency, might perhaps be proper to ingratiate a new prince with his people: but it gave with all (in⁷ *Neubrigensis's* opinion) too much encouragement to offenders to repeat their crimes, in hopes of the like impunity. *Robert* earl of *Leicester* had been pardoned and restored by *Henry* to all his estate, except the castles of *Montfœrel* and *Pacey*; *Richard* now put him in possession of these: and others, whose lands had been forfeited, had the benefit of a like restitution. *Alice*, daughter and⁸ heir of *Ralf de Deols*, being left a widow by the death of her first husband *Baldwin de Redvers*, the fourth earl of *Devon*, the king gave her in marriage to *Andrew de Chavigny*, with the castle and honour of *Chateauroux* in *Berry*. If the jealousy which he had expressed lately of his brother *John* was ever real, or any

¹ *Diceto*, col. 616. ² *M. Paris*. ³ *Benedict*, p. 549. ⁴ *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 284, 386. ⁵ *Hoveden*.

⁶ *Benedict*, p. 577. *ib.* p. 550. *Hoveden*. ⁷ *L.* iv. c. 1. ⁸ *Benedict*, p. 553, 555. *Hoveden*.

RICHARD I. thing more than a mere pretence, it seems now to be entirely removed; since he increased
 A. D. 1189. his appanage by grants of the estate of *William Peverel*, and the castles of *Marlborough*,
Lutgershal, the *Pec*, *Bolsover*, *Lancaster*, *Nottingham*, *Tikehill* and *Wallingford*,
 with the forests and honours annexed to those castles. To these *Hoveden* and others,
 add the earldoms of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Dorset*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and
Lancashire: ¹ And *John* (notwithstanding archbishop *Baldwin's* prohibition on
 account of their consanguinity) marrying on *August 29*, at *Marlborough*, the heiress
 of the late earl of *Gloucester*, became by means of all these honours, master of a conside-
 rable part of the realm, at a time when the king was leaving it, to go on a long,
 dangerous, and remote expedition. The queen mother had, before *Richard's* coming
 over, caused all the freemen throughout all *England* to take an oath of fealty to him:
 the prelates and nobility did the same soon after at his coronation; which was
 solemnized on *Sept. 3*, at *Westminster*. ² *Ralf de Diceto*, dean of *St. Pauls*, officiated
 at this ceremony in the bishop of *London's* stead, the see being vacant: it appears
 from him, that the oath taken by *Richard* was couched in the very same terms,
 with that taken on the like occasions, by all his predecessors, from the time of
William the Conqueror, and with the promise made by our *Saxon* monarchs before the
 Conquest.

WHEN divine service was over, and the king was at dinner in *Westminster Hall*,
 there happened an accident that proved very fatal to the *Jews* of *London*, and to
 abundance of that sect in different parts of the kingdom. They had lived without
 disturbance during the steady and quiet reign of the late king: and being desirous to
 curry favour with the new, by making him a considerable present, several of the
 chief and wealthiest among them, had come from the cities, where they usually dwelt,
 to *London*, in order to agree upon the sum which it was proper to offer. They were
 in all ages odious to the people of *England*; but more particularly so at a time,
 when their zeal for *Christianity* was worked up to the highest degree by the sermons
 of preachers, that displayed all their oratory to paint the miseries of their fellow
Christians in the *Holy Land*, and exalt the merit of *Croisades*. ³ Whether *Richard*
 hated them, or was apprehensive that their appearance at his coronation, might
 occasion a tumult, or had only a view to prevent the inconveniencies of a crowd
 (which last seems to be the reason why women were included in the prohibition)
 he had issued a proclamation the day before, that no *Jew* should be suffered to come
 into the church, at the time of the coronation service, or to enter the palace whilst
 he was at dinner. This restraint rendering their curiosity more eager, several of the
 most considerable *Jews*, whose wealth and dealings made them most known,
 mixed with the crowd of people gathered about the gates of the palace: and one of
 them attempting to thrust into the palace, was shoved away, or struck with the palm of his
 hand, by a *Christian*, that knew him, and checked his insolence in daring to break the
 king's proclamation. This served for a signal to others, who immediately insulting the
Jews with bitter reproaches, a tumult ensued: and the mob crowding from all parts,
 proceeded from ill language to blows, and from striking them with the fist, to
 attacking them with clubs and stones; imagining that every thing must be agreeable
 to the king, that seemed to answer the intent of the proclamation. The *Jews*,
 taking to their heels, were some of them trodden under foot in their flight, and others
 beaten to death: and this treatment giving occasion to a rumor, which spread in
 a moment over *London*, that the king had ordered all the *Jews* to be exterminated,
 the mob of the city got together, and an infinite number of others (who had been

¹ *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 3. *Benedict.* p. 577.

² *Col.* 647. *Benedict.* p. 558. *Hoveden. Chron.* *Dunstable.*

³ *Benedict.* p. 560. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 1.

drawn thither out of the country by the solemnity of the coronation) with arms in their hand, eager for the plunder, and breathing the destruction, of that people. RICHARD I.
A. D. 1189. The *Jewish* citizens shut themselves up in their houses, and were there attacked by the enraged populace, till night came on; when the mob finding their efforts to break into strong houses, built of stone, fruitless, set fire to them at the top, and the flames spreading to the buildings of *Christians*, that lay contiguous to the others, the city was set on fire in several places: and the *Jews* were either burnt within their houses, or attempting to come out, perished by the swords of the multitude. The king hearing of this disturbance, sent *Ralf de Glanville*, the chief justiciary, and other noblemen to stop the fury of the mob, and prevent further mischief: but all their endeavours were in vain; and being forced to retire for the safety of their own lives, the rabble continued plundering *Christians* as well as *Jews*, till they quarrelled about dividing the spoil, and morning coming on, mere weariness, or the necessity of securing their booty, made them at last disperse. Such a sedition and insult upon majesty, in the beginning of a reign, merited a severe correction: and yet some or other of all the best families in the city, being concerned in it, there seemed to be as much danger in making an inquisition into all the offenders, as there could be mischief in letting them escape with impunity. *Richard* taking a middle way¹, caused several of the ring-leaders, and the most notorious of the malefactors to be apprehended the next day: and these being hanged for a terror to others, he issued a proclamation forbidding the like tumults, and taking the *Jews* under his protection.

THIS proved for some time their security, but soon after the king went abroad, they were attacked and murdered in the same manner² at *Lynne*, *Stamford*, and *York*: in the last of which places five hundred of them perished; the greater part of their own act, burning themselves in the castle, where they had retired for safety, and from whence they very imprudently kept out the governor and high sheriff; the rest, who sued for mercy, and were promised it, falling by the swords of the seditious. There was more of avarice, than of a false inhumane zeal for *Christianity*, in these attempts. Many of the gentry of the province, greatly indebted to the *Jews* were concerned in that of *York*: and when the massacre was over, went to the cathedral where their bonds were lodged; took them away from the officers who had the custody thereof, and burnt them in the middle of the church, with great solemnity. This last act was in fraud of the king's revenue, to whom by law belonged all the personal estates of usurers, deceased: and *Richard* incensed, as well at this embezzlement of his dues, as at the insult on his authority by so flagrant a breach of his late orders, for the security of the *Jews*, ordered the bishop of *Ely*, his chief justiciary at that time, to punish the guilty in an exemplary manner. This prelate coming accordingly into *Yorkshire* to execute his orders, found the principal actors in the tragedy fled into *Scotland*: and the citizens of *York* excusing themselves, as neither concerned in the massacre, nor able to stop the fury of the mob set on by others, he contented himself with turning out the high sheriff and the governor of the castle; and only levying fines upon several according to their abilities, put no body to death upon this occasion.

LII. THE king soon after his coronation went to the abbey of *Piperwell* in *Northamptonshire*³; where in an assembly of his prelates and nobility on *Sept. 16*, the sees of *London*, *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Ely* were filled with *Godfrey de Lucy* archdeacon of *York*, *Richard Nigel* archdeacon of *Ely*, *Hubert Walter* dean of *York*, His preparations for an expedition to the Holy Land.

¹ *M. Paris. Bened. p. 561.*² *Neubrig. l. iv. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*³ *Bened. p. 585.*⁴ *Diceto, col. 648. Bened. p. 562, 564. Heyden.*

RICHARD I. and *William Longchamp* a *Frenchman*, of a mean family in *Picardie*. *Richard's* thoughts were now entirely taken up with an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and the raising of money to defray its charges. He had upon *Geffrey Ridcl* the late bishop of *Ely's* dying intestate on *Aug. 20*, seized all his effects, amounting to three thousand marks of silver and two hundred of gold, besides plate and jewels: but this had scarce served to pay the expence of his coronation. He had found in his father's treasury at *Winchester* vast sums, which in weight and tale much exceeded an hundred thousand marks. *Benedict* and *John* abbots of *Peterborough*, and *M. Paris* say, that they amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds in gold and silver, besides precious stones, jewels, and rich utensils: but he did not think all this sufficient to support the number of forces and the naval armament he designed to employ in the *Croisade*. ² *Hugh* bishop of *Durham* had engaged in it; and on that pretext had extorted large sums of money from his vassals: but when he had amassed eleven thousand pound for the voyage, he got absolved from his vow, and employed the money to purchase of the king the earldom of *Northumberland* for his life, and the honour of *Sadberg* to himself and his successors in that see for ever. ³ High sheriffs of counties and keepers of forests had great power in those days; and those posts were much coveted on that account, though more so for being very lucrative: these *Richard* sold for a term of years, and made the like sale of all other offices and dignities. The barons of *Bedfordshire* ⁴ gave him two hundred marks to disforest that part of their county, which *Henry* had afforested: and the knights of *Surrey* paid as much for the like favour to the parts of their shire, lying between the river *Waie* and *Kent*, and running from the street to *Geldedon*, as far south as that county extended. ⁵ The burgessees of *Bedford* paid eighty marks for the fee-farm of their town and the privileges of their charter: and in this manner were liberties, charters, castles, and manors of the crown granted to all that had a mind to such purchases. ⁶ Thus the abbot of *St. Edmundsbury* bought the manor of *Mildenbale* for a thousand marks, as the bishop of *Winchester* did for six hundred those of *Menes* and *Weregrave*; every body taking advantage of the king's eagerness for ready money, to accommodate themselves at low rates with convenient and profitable purchases. He was so bent upon these alienations ⁷ of the rights and demesnes of the crown; and made them with such a profusion, that it looked as if he had no thoughts of ever returning again to *England*: and when some of his most intimate friends remonstrated against these proceedings, as lessening the power of the crown and ruinous to its revenue, he told them that he would sell *London* itself, if he could find a proper purchaser. *Ralf de Glanville* ⁸, whose post of chief justiciary put him at the head of the exchequer, was probably one of those honest ministers that represented to him the ill consequences of his measures: and when he found *Richard* would not hearken to any advice, and that every thing was done in the most unthrifty and improper manner, resigned his post, and obtained leave to engage in the expedition to *Jerusalem*. He was succeeded in it by *Hugh* bishop of *Durham* ⁹ and *William de Mandeville* earl of *Essex* and *Albemarle*; the former whereof gave a thousand marks for that civil employment, and the latter died soon after on *Nov. 14*, in *Normandie*.

By this means the king raised more ready money, than any of his predecessors were ever known to possess: and yet he had other ways of bringing it into his coffers, which he did not fail to make use of; though they were really a prejudice to the very expedition, that was the principal motive for all his measures. ¹⁰ He obtained

¹ *Ibid.* p. 553. ² *Coldingham Hist. Dunelm.* c. 8, 9. *Neubrig.* 1. iv. c. 5. *Benedict.* p. 568. *Hoveden.* ³ *Rot. Pip.* 2. *Rich.* 1. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Hoveden.* ⁷ *Neubrig.* *ib.* ⁸ *Ib.* c. 4. *Benedict.* p. 568. ⁹ *Diceto,* col. 650. ¹⁰ *Hoveden.*

from Pope *Clement* a bull, empowering him to acquit such as had taken the cross, and were proper to be left at home for the guard of the kingdom, from their obligation to go to *Jerusalem*: and having in virtue thereof allowed the bishop of *Durham* to stay, and divert the eleven thousand pounds he had levied for that expedition, he raised immense sums by granting a like indulgence to others. In the midst of these preparations for his voyage, *Rotrou*¹ count of *Perche* came over in *November*, with some other noble ambassadors from the king of *France*, to notify the resolution of this prince and his barons, who had sworn in a general council of that realm held at *Paris*, to be all by the close of *Easter* at *Vezelay*, and to summon *Richard* and his people to be there at the general rendezvous, in order to set out together on their *Croisade*. The king hereupon called a great council of all the prelates, earls, and barons of *England* at *London*: and as *Philip* had declared his resolution in an instrument, to the performance whereof *Rotrou* swore in his name, *Richard* drew up the like engagement in writing, and the earl of *Essex* swore for him, that he would be at the place of rendezvous on the day appointed. He had already made some provision against the inroads of the *Welsh*²: who upon the death of the late king had begun to be troublesome; *Rees ap Griffith* prince of *South-Wales* and his son *Maelgon* having taken the castles of *Tenby*, *S. Clair Abercorran*, and *Lanstephan*, built that of *Kydwelly*, and over-run a good part of *Pembroke* and *Caermarthen* shires. *Rees* had indeed, under the protection of a safe conduct from prince *John*, commonly stiled by cotemporary writers count of *Mortain*, come to the king's court at *Oxford*, to make his submission: but *Richard* having refused to see him, the *Welsh* prince had returned home, full of indignation, and meditating revenge for so gross an affront. To repress his attempts, *John* was directed to march into *Wales* with an army: and a scutage, at the rate of ten shillings a knight's fee, was levied throughout *England*, to defray the charges of the expedition.

THERE was still another affair to be settled, before the king went abroad. The monks of *Christ-church* in *Canterbury* served for a chapter to that see, and⁴ had always been very troublesome, as well to the crown in the elections of archbishops, as to these prelates; who as such were both their metropolitans and abbots. To humble then, and prevent any ill efforts from their refractoriness, the late king and archbishop *Baldwin* had formed a scheme for lessening their power, by founding a society of secular canons, and erecting a college for them upon *St. Stephen's* churchyard at *Hakington*, about half a mile from *Canterbury*. It was to consist of twenty canonries; one of these to be founded by the king, and the rest by each of the suffragans of the province; the vacancies, which should happen from time to time, being to be filled up by the respective founders; and the archbishop to be at the charge of building the church and college. The secret design of this project, was to draw the election of an archbishop, from the monks of *Christ-church*, to this new society; the canons whereof being likely to be influenced by their patrons, the election of a primate would by that means be restored effectually to the suffragan bishops of the province, to whom in the primitive ages of the gospel it originally belonged. To put a better colour on the matter, the foundation was said to be in honour of *Becket*: and the king's paying the pension of a canonry, was represented as a perpetual penance on the crown for that prelate's murder. The Pope, caught by these appearances, had empowered *Baldwin* to pursue a magnificent plan he had formed for the building, which was begun and carried on with great application: and several estates were actually settled for the maintenance of the canons, before the monks discovered the real design. When they saw the danger they were in of losing that

¹ *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 570.² *Ib.* p. 575. *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 241, 242.³ *Rot.**Pip.* 2. *Rich.* 1.⁴ *Chron. Gervaf.* col. 1481, & seq. 1494. 1518. 1548. 1552, & seq.

RICHARD I.
A. D. 1189.

part of their power which rendered them most considerable, they made heavy complaints to the court of *Rome* of the injury designed them, and the archbishop's turning out their prior, and putting in a new one by his own authority: as his predecessor *Theobald* had done, when he deposed the priors *Jeremy* and *Walter*; an authority, which the monks had, in a manner, confessed, by dropping their appeal in those instances. The Pope espousing their cause, and sending a legate to take cognizance of the matter, and determine the dispute, the king thought it proper to prevent such an exercise of the papal authority in his dominions: and laboured to get the monks to refer the controversy to his decision. This was obtained not without difficulty: and *Richard*¹ coming, on *November 27*, to *Canterbury*, with a vast number of his prelates and nobility, made, by their advice, an award two days afterwards; by which the new foundation was to be demolished, and *Roger le Norreis*, whom *Baldwin* had appointed prior, was to be removed, but in all other points, the monks were to submit to the archbishop, who put in another prior. *Roger* was immediately made abbot of *Evesham*: but the noble design of the college was defeated; for though *Baldwin* proposed still to carry it on at *Lambeth*, and had, with that view, given the church of *Rocheſter*, the manor of *Dertford* in exchange for it, and removed the materials thither from *Hakinton*, he died before the work was finished; and the project was entirely disappointed.

THE cardinal of *Anagni*, the Pope's legate *a latere*, had been stopped near a fortnight at *Dover*, by orders from² the king not to proceed further without his leave: but when this transaction was over, he was sent for to *Canterbury*, and honourably received; though not allowed to exercise any part of his legatine powers, except in releasing the interdict which archbishop *Baldwin* had on prince *John*'s marriage laid on his lands; for it was without *Richard*'s leave, that he confirmed *Geffrey* archbishop of *York*'s election. Whilst the king was in that city, *William* king of *Scotland*³, escorted from the *Twede* by archbishop *Geffrey*, the high sheriff and barons of *Yorkshire*, came thither with his brother *David* earl of *Huntingdon*, to make an agreement with *Richard*, in the height of his fury for setting out on the expedition to the *Holy Land*, and for amassing money at any rate, in order to make it with all possible magnificence. A sum of ten thousand marks⁴ sterling prevailed with the king to restore the castles of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*; to release *William* of all the engagements he had entered into with the late king, when he was freed from his captivity; to deliver up the instruments containing the professions of allegiance made by the barons of *Scotland*; and to receive *William*'s homage on the same footing, it had been made by his predecessor *Malcolm*. This agreement, so advantageous to the king of *Scotland*, and so flattering to his subjects notions of the independency of their country, was signed by *Richard* on *December 5*: and he had nothing more to do in *England*, but to provide for the administration of the realm during his absence; in which he seems to have acted as much of his own head, as he did in other affairs⁵. It was against the sense of all his nobility, that he left *William Longchamp* bishop of *Ely* (a man of low original, and in a manner unknown; sprung from a peasant of the *Beauvoisis*, that had quitted *France* for treason, whom he had made chancellor and chief justiciary) guardian of the kingdom⁶; joining the bishop of *Durham* with him in the post of justiciary, to act in the counties north of the *Humber*; giving to the former the custody of the tower of *London*; to the latter, that of the castle and forest of *Windſor*: and appointing *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Mareſchal*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, and *William Briwere* to be their assistants and counsellors in the exercise of the government. The king having thus settled matters, more to his own mind, than agreeably to the sense of his coun-

¹ *Hoveden*.² *Ibid*.³ *Benedict*, p. 575, 576.⁴ *Ib*. p. 181. *Rymer* i. 64.⁵ *Diate*,col. 650. *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 5.⁶ *Hoveden*.

cil, or for the good of the nation; and taken the legate with him¹, set sail from *Dover* on *Monday, December 11*: and landing the same day near *Gravelines*, was there met by the count and nobility of *Flanders*, who attended him into *Normandie*. RICHARD I.
A. D. 1190.

It was an artifice, too mean for a king to practise, which *Richard* made use of, when he was got into that country, to extort money from those, to whom he had made grants of estates, liberties, and offices in *England*. He had left, with the bishop of *Ely*, one of his seals, to be affixed to such mandates as were necessary to be issued in the course of the government²: and had carried the great seal with him abroad. This he pretended to have lost: and having, in a method usual on such occasions, caused it to be proclaimed through the kingdom, that no credit should be given to instruments sealed with it, ordered every body that had received grants from him to bring them in, that they might be sealed with the new seal, which he had got made, and be thereby rendered authentick. He must doubtless have passed a vast number of grants, to make it worth while to stoop to a trick so much below his dignity, and which nothing but a mean, griping, avaritious temper, or the extremest necessity for money, could suggest: it served however to raise a large sum of money; many that had received very beneficial grants, not thinking themselves safe without coming over to *Normandie*, to procure a confirmation thereof, and paying new fines, such as he thought fit to demand on that occasion. Nor³ was this the only way he contrived for making the *English* contribute more than the heavy tenth laid upon them on account of the *Croisade*; for having got the Pope to make the bishop of *Ely* legate of all *England*, *Wales*, and the parts of *Ireland* subject to prince *John*, this prelate, supported by the papal, as well as the royal authority, forced every abbey, and every manor of the crown, to furnish a palfrey and sumpter horse, and every city in the kingdom, double the number, for the expedition.

LIV. It was high time for the kings of *France* and *England* to adjust every thing necessary for it, to prevent any dispute when they met at the rendezvous; which had been appointed at the latter end of *March*, but was afterwards, by the sickness and death of the queen of *France*, deferred till *Midsummer*. They⁴ had for this purpose a conference, about a week after *Christmas* holidays, at *Gué S. Remi*, attended by the prelates, earls, and barons of both kingdoms; where they all swore mutually to maintain peace, and defend each other's territories: and if either of the princes died in the voyage, the other was to have his men and money to carry on the service. *Richard* soon after sent for his mother *Eleanor*, *Adelais* of *France* sister to king *Philip*, his brother *John*, the two archbishops, and other *English* bishops, to come over into *Normandie*; and made *John* and his natural brother *Geffrey* archbishop of *York*, swear, that they would not set foot in *England* for three years; by the end of which term he proposed to return from the *Croisade*: but he soon, at his mother's instances, released the former of that obligation, and not long after gave the latter a license to return thither⁵. He had sent officers to all the ports in his dominions, to make choice of ships of the greatest burden; and had equipped a large fleet, well manned, victualled, and supplied with all necessaries for the expedition: and he now gave orders for its sailing, in order to meet him and his land forces at *Marseilles*⁶. On this occasion, he took the advice of his prelates and nobility in making several ordinances for preventing quarrels and bloodshed on board the fleet: and appointed five justices to put them in execution, and make such other regulations, as should become necessary. The time of the rendezvous drawing near, the king⁷ received the scrip and staff, the usual badges of pilgrims, from the archbishop of *Tours*: and marching to *Vex-*

¹ *Ib. Benedict.* p. 579. ² *Ibid.* p. 579, 580. *M. Paris.* ³ *Benedict.* p. 585. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 583.

⁵ *Hoveden.*

⁶ *Ib. Benedict.* p. 589. ⁷ *Hoveden. Vincens.* l. ii. c. 9.

RICHARD ¹ lay, set out from thence, after two days stay, on *July* 1, for *Lion*; where, their troops, computed at an hundred thousand men, being too numerous to march together without great inconvenience, the two kings parted; *Philip* going straight to *Genoa*, and *Richard* to *Marseille*. In this place the king of *England* found a great ² numbers of pilgrims; who having waited long for a passage to the *Holy Land*, and spent all their money, offered him their service. He accordingly retained many of them: and having in vain waited a week with great impatience for his fleet, hired three large buffes, with twenty well-armed galleys, to carry his household; and going on board *August* 7, coasted along *Italy* in his way to *Sicily*. *Baldwin* ² archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ralf de Granville*, *Hubert* and *John* bishops of *Sarum* and *Norwich*, had attended him to *Marseille*: and the last of these, going on to *Rome*, got the *Pope* to absolve him from his engagement; and returning home, paid the king a thousand marks to be excused from the voyage. The three others staid behind, till they found an opportunity of sailing directly to the *Holy Land*; where the two first died soon after at the siege of *Acon*. The fleet came to *Marseille* on *August* 22: and after a week's stay for repairing some damages sustained by bad weather, proceeded to *Messina*; where it arrived on *September* 14: and two days after the king of *France* put into the same harbour, and was lodged within the town in king *Tancred's* palace. The king of *England* had staid at *Salerno*, till he heard his fleet had passed by the coast: but upon that advice, sailing from thence, he arrived at *Messina* on the twenty-third of the same month, and took up his quarters in the suburbs; the inhabitants of the place thinking themselves sufficiently crouded by the *French* troops, who had been received into the city ³. As *Richard* proposed to pass the winter there, and his sister *Jane*, relict of the late king of *Sicily*, came thither to stay with him, he thought it necessary, for his own security, to seize two strong castles lying on the *Far*; assigning one for the accommodation of his sister and her retinue, and erecting magazines in the other for the sustenance of his forces ⁴. This step gave the citizens of *Messina* a jealousy, as if he intended to make himself master of the island: and on *October* 3, they took a slight occasion to quarrel with the *English*; drove out such as were in the town; shut up their gates; and lined the walls with armed men; which the *English* attempting to force, were with difficulty called off by the king from the assault. The next day the king of *France*, with several of his prelates and nobles, and others of *Sicily*, met at *Richard's* lodgings to make up the quarrel: but whilst they were consulting on the subject, a ⁵ great multitude of the citizens sallying out of the town, with intentions of surprizing him, killed several of his men and horses, and attacked *Hugh le Brun's* quarters. The king of *England*, enraged at this insult, armed immediately: and putting himself at the head of his troops, repulsed the citizens: and following them to the gates, attacked the city (into which *Philip* had retired without any molestation) with such resolution, that he entered it in despite of all the opposition made by the *French*, as well as by the inhabitants, and planted the standard of *England* on the bulwarks. ⁶ This the king of *France* resented as an high affront and indignity; though his own conduct more justly merited censure; he having assisted in the defence of the place, and slain with ⁷ his own hand three of the assailants, by means of a cross-bow.

THE two kings had hitherto agreed very well together: but though *Richard* acted with great modesty and decorum on this occasion ¹; quitting the city after he had taken it; leaving the king of *France's* quarters free; and encamping his own forces within a fortification, which he erected without the walls, *Philip* conceived,

¹ *Benedict*, p. 592.

² *Dietz*, col. 656.

p. 609, & seq. 621.

³ *Ib.* 593, 623.

⁴ *Imperial*, l. 10 c. 16

⁵ *Math. lib.* c. 12.

⁶ *Ib.* l. 99.

⁷ *Benedict*, p. 609, & seq.

⁸ *Math. lib.* c. 12.

from this time, a rancour against him, that was implacable. It did not however RICHARD I.
A. D. 1190. break out immediately: and they still agreed in making certain ordinances to be observed by both their troops; to prevent excessive gaining, clipping of money, and dearth of provisions; to provide for the wholesomeness of victuals; to regulate the markets, and moderate the gain of merchants. *Richard*¹ likewise, considering the disasters attending voyages at sea, and moved with compassion to the sufferers, passed at this time a charter, giving up throughout *England*, as well as his other dominions, the right which the crown had to all wrecked goods, the owner whereof was known; provided he was living, or left either sons or daughters, brothers or sisters. He put himself, about this time², into a course of penance for his sins: and it was probably, in this fit of devotion, that he granted to the church of *Normandie* the liberties mentioned by *M. Paris* and *Ralf de Diceto*; by which the clergy were exempted from imprisonment by the secular power, except for murder, theft, burning, or such enormous crimes; and in these cases they were to be delivered to their ordinary upon demand, in order to be tried in the ecclesiastical court; to which was likewise appropriated the cognizance of all suits about breaches of faith or oath, eleemosynary possessions, dower, and marriage settlements, so far as they related to personal estates. The effects of intestates were to be distributed by the ecclesiastical authority, as well as estates disposed of by will, without the subtraction of a tenth as formerly: and the goods of the clergy, though reputed usurers, and dying intestate, or in any other manner, were to be distributed by the bishop in works of charity. The gifts and benefactions of lay-men, deemed usurers, if made in their life-time, were not to be revoked after their decease; though the goods of which they died possessed, were still forfeited to the crown as usual. Such were the contents of this charter, which provided further, that all conventual societies in *Normandie* should have the choice of their respective superiors, with the assent of the bishop of the diocese.

His³ quarrel with the *Messinese*, who had been plundered on the town's being taken, was not yet made up, though the prelates of *Sicily* used their endeavours to accommodate it, as well as some disputes he had with the king of the island; to whom they proved very inconvenient; an hundred thousand pagan slaves having seized the opportunity to quit their masters; and retire to the mountains, whence they made incursions all over the plain country. ⁴ *Roger II*, king of *Sicily*, leaving two sons, and a daughter named *Constance*, was succeeded by his eldest son *Roger*, in the duchy of *Puglia*, and his other dominions in *Italy*; and by his younger son *William* in the kingdom of *Sicily*. This *William* had only one child, *William II*, king of *Sicily*; who married *Jane*, king *Richard's* sister: and dying the year before in *December* without issue, bequeathed to the late king *Henry* a golden table, with a vast quantity of gold and silver plate, besides an hundred galleys with all their equipage, and provided with all necessaries and provisions for two years, to serve him in the *Croisade* he had undertaken. He had before declared his aunt *Constance* to be his heir in the crown of *Sicily*; had married her with that expectation to *Henry*, son of the late emperor *Frederic*; and had made all the *Sicilian* nobility swear to maintain her succession: but before she could come to take possession of the throne, *Tamered*, an illegitimate son of the last named *Roger*, by a daughter of *Robert* count of *Lece*, had been invited by the *Sicilians*, and was acknowledged king of the country. His right to the crown was disputed by a very potent adversary, *Henry VI*, now emperor of *Germany*, and husband to *Constance*: he had no occasion to draw upon himself more enemies⁵, and was very glad to come, on *November 11*, to an accommodation with the king of *England*, obliging himself to pay *Richard*, as heir

¹ *Benedict*, p. 622. *Chron. Dunstable*.

² *Ib.* p. 629, 630. *Diceto*, col. 657.

³ *Ib.* p. 612, 613, 618, & seq. *Rymer*, i. 69.

RICHARD I. to his father, twenty thousand ounces of gold in lieu of the late king's legacies, and as much to his sister *Jane* in satisfaction of her dower. He agreed likewise to give one of his daughters in marriage to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*¹, nephew to *Richard* (who, on this occasion, if he died without issue, declared that young prince his heir and successor in all his dominions) as soon as they came to be of a proper age: and paid down the same sum of twenty thousand ounces of gold for her fortune; which however was to be paid back, in case the marriage did not take effect. This treaty of peace was confirmed by the oaths of the chief prelates and nobility, as well of *Richard's* as *Tancred's* dominions, who swore as proxies in the name, and on *the souls*, of their respective princes, that they should observe the articles thereof; it not being customary in that age² for king's to take any corporal oath, except at their coronation, and in the case of *Croisades*.

MESSINA was a very populous city, having, on a general computation, within its walls at least fifty thousand inhabitants, faithless, cruel, being a mongrel race of *Greeks*, *Lombards*, and *Saracens*, termed generally, by the historians of the age, *Griffons*. To guard against their treachery, *Richard*, who had restored all the plunder of the place, when he drew his forces thence, pulled down the gates; obliged the citizens to deliver hostages for their peaceable behaviour: and on an high mountain that overlooked the town, and commanded the postern at which his troops had forced their entrance, he built a strong castle, which he called *Antegriffon*. In this castle he kept *Christmas day* in a most splendid manner, having *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*³, and most of the *French* nobility with him at dinner; when a fray happening between his seamen and those of some *Pisan* and *Genese* ships, he was obliged to rise from table, and run with his company armed to put a stop to the tumult. It was renewed the next day upon a *Pisan's* stabbing one of the *English* seamen in the time of divine service, at the church of the knights hospitallers, and many were slain on both sides: but the kings of *France* and *England*, coming up with their troops, put an end to the combat.

THERE happened not long after, on *Saturday, February 2*, a mock encounter, which historians⁴ take notice of as a serious affair, between *Richard* and *William de Barres*, a *French* knight; whom he had, between two and three years before, taken prisoner in a skirmish near *Mante*, and who after giving his parole, had made his escape. The king had been riding out after dinner, with some *English* and *French* knights in company; and in their return towards *Messina*, meeting a man coming from thence with an ass laden with canes, such as the *Moor's* use for their diversion, they took some of them, and ran at one another, darting them in the *Moorish* manner. In this way of joking, *William* tore the king's outward coat; which nettled him so, that he ran at the other with such force, that he made him stagger, but did not throw him down as he proposed; and the saddle of his own horse turning round with the shock, he was forced to alight. Mounting a fresh horse, he ran again at *William*; who saving himself from a fall, by clinging to his horse's neck, *Robert Fitz Parnel* of *Leicester* attempted to seize and dismount him: but *Richard* forbidding him, ordered *de Barres* to be gone, and never appear more in his presence. *William* was reckoned one of the best knights of *France*; and his master, with all the *French* prelates and noblemen, interceded in his behalf: but *Richard*, not forgetting his former conduct, which the laws of the *Croisade* hindered him from revenging, and incensed at this new provocation, was not easily persuaded to drop his resentment. He did however at last consent to his stay, and proceeding with the rest of the pilgrims in their expedition⁵; during which he promised

¹ *Diceto*, col. 657. ² See the letter of *William II*, king of *Sicily*, in *Rymer*, t. i. p. 42. ³ *Finchess*, l. ii. c. 21. ⁴ *Benedict*, p. 633. ⁵ *Hoveden*, p. 645, 687. *Benedict*, p. 516, 632. ⁶ *ib. j. ff.* l. iv. c. 10.

to do nothing to his detriment: and *William* distinguished himself so much by his valour in the *Holy Land*, that he entirely recovered the king of *England's* favour.

RICHARD I.
A. D. 1190.

THE king of *France* all this while concealed his animosity with so much care, that *Richard* had no suspicion of it¹, and made him a present of several of his *English* ships, as a mark of his friendship; distributing at the same time his treasures among the *French* knights, as well as his own, with such profusion, that none of his predecessors ever gave away so much in a year, as he did in the single month of *February*. *Richard*² carried his generosity so far, that he gave that king half of the money he had received in consequence of his treaty with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, though he had done every thing he could in a clandestine way to obstruct it; not excepting even what was paid for his sister's dower; which could not possibly be deemed any part of those acquisitions, which were to be equally divided between the two kings, in consequence of their joint undertaking of the *Croisade*. These actions, which raised the king of *England's* glory, did not lessen the other's envy: and *Richard*, setting out on *Friday* the first of *March*, to have a conference with *Tancred* at *Catana*, a place twenty leagues distant from *Messina*, was there received with the greatest honours by that prince; and had an opportunity of being informed of *Philip's* malevolence. *Tancred* offered him noble presents of gold and silver plate, horses, and apparel: but he would receive nothing of that kind, besides a small ring; in return whereof he gave him a sword, reputed to be the *Caliburne* of the famous *Arthur*, in testimony of their mutual friendship. He was less scrupulous in respect of what might be of service in the *Croisade*; readily accepting four large ships called *Wissers*, proper for transporting horses, and fifteen galleys: and gained, by the frankness of his temper, and the nobleness of his carriage, so much upon the king of *Sicily*, that in his return, this prince accompanied him two days journey, as far as *Taverne*. When they were to part, *Tancred* took leave of *Richard* with strong professions of esteem: and gave him a letter, which he had received from the king of *France*, by the duke of *Burgundy*; containing assurances, that the king of *England* would not keep faith with him, and intended to deprive him of his crown; as well as offers to assist him with all his power, to destroy *Richard* and his forces, if *Tancred* would fall upon him suddenly with his army. *Richard* could scarce think it possible for *Philip* to act a part so full of falshood and treachery; till he had read the letter, and *Tancred* offered to bring one of his own dukes to attest, that the duke of *Burgundy* had delivered him those letters, sealed with the king of *France's* signet. *Richard* knew not how to dissemble; and after his return to *Messina*, estranged himself so much from the king of *France*, that the latter could not help taking notice of it: and enquiring into the reason of such an alteration in his behaviour (the count of *Flanders* going between them on this occasion) *Richard* gave him the abovementioned letter to peruse; and the count giving the king of *France* an account of the contents, *Philip* was at first quite confounded, and continued for a time speechless. At last recollecting himself, he pretended it was a trick of the king of *England's* (the man in the world the most incapable of such an artifice) to get rid of his sister *Adelais*, whom he ought to marry: and threatened, that if he left her, and married any body else, he would be his enemy as long as he lived.

A. D. 1197.

RICHARD's residence in *Guienne* had afforded him many opportunities of knowing the beauty and amiable qualities of *Berengaria*, daughter of *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*: and he had been in love with her many years, from the time that he first entered upon the government of that dutchy. The match proposed for him with *Adelais* of *France*, was a political affair, grounded on reasons of state, without any inclinations on *Richard's* part; who was never affianced to her, nor appeared to approve it at any time, but when it served to distress his father, and to unite himself the more closely with her brother, in which point they probably

¹ *Benedict.* p. 640, & seq. *Hoveden.* *Vinesauf.* l. ii. c. 23. ² *Ib.* c. 19, 21. ³ *Ib.* l. ii. c. 26.

RICHARD I. understood one another. But being, by his father's death, and the possession of the throne of *England*, become entire master of his own actions, he engaged his mother *Eleanor*, when he set out on the *Croisade*, to go into *Guienne*, and make a treaty for his marriage with *Berengaria*. The young princess, being accordingly affianced to him, came from her own country with *Eleanor* over land to *Naples*; having been joined on the road by the count of *Flanders*. ¹ *Richard* had sent, in *February*, several of his galleys to fetch them thence to *Messina*: but as this place was much crowded already, and their train was exceeding numerous, the governors of *Messina* remonstrated against their coming to a place, where there was not room to receive them; and the galleys returning only with the count of *Flanders*, the two ladies went to *Brindisi*. The king of *France* knew all this very well: and in all probability never expected that *Richard* would marry his sister; since in the peace which they made immediately after *Henry's* death, there was no notice taken of their marriage, and a demand, inconsistent with it, was made of *Gisors*, and its dependencies. A sum of four thousand marks put off the demand at that time: but it was now to be settled, and all other matters in dispute between them; to put an end to their mutual animosity, that they might proceed in their sacred expedition with an unanimity and friendship necessary for the good success of their enterprize. This accommodation was made on terms so favourable to the king of *England*, that it is natural to think, *Philip* had either very little reason to complain of his conduct, or was ashamed of his own, and desirous to regain his confidence and amity by an unusual complaisance on this occasion.

By the articles of this peace², “ *Philip*, notwithstanding the convention for the marriage of his sister *Adelais* (who was to be sent back to *France* within a month after *Richard's* return from the *Holy Land*) freely allowed him to marry what wife he pleased, and quitted to him and his heirs male begotten on her, *Gisors*, *Neaufle*, *Neufchatel de S. Denis*, and all the *Vexin Normand*: but in case *Richard* died without any such heir male, these places were to revert to *Philip*, and his issue male; and in case this last prince died without such male issue, they were to be reunited, with all their dependencies, to the *domaine* of *Normandie*. If the king of *England* had two or more heirs male, the elder was to hold the lands, belonging to him on the continent, of *Philip in capite*, and another to hold of him likewise one of the three baronies (*viz.*) *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, or else *Guienne* and *Poitou*: and on these accounts *Richard* was to pay *Philip* ten thousand marks of silver, of the weight of *Troyes*, at four different payments, on the feast of *All-Saints* in the four next ensuing years; three thousand at each of the two first, and two thousand at each of the latter, payments. *Richard* quitted to him the fiefs of *Yssoudun* and *Grassay*, with all that he claimed in *Auvergne*: and *Philip* gave up to *Richard*, *Cabors* with all *Quercy*, except the two royal abbeyes of *Figeac* and *Souillac*; the latter engaging to seize no more of the count of *Toulouse's* territories, unless the count declined standing to justice in the king of *France's* court, in which case *Philip* was to give him no assistance. *William II*, count of *Ponthieu*, was the principal surety and hostage given by *Philip* for the performance of this treaty: and was to put himself (as the others also were) with all his fiefs into the hands of *Richard* within three weeks after summons, if the king of *France* failed in any of the articles, and to render him the services specified in a particular instrument, till this convention was duly executed by *Philip*.” It is proper to observe, that this count, who was present at this treaty, and swore to observe it, afterwards married *Adelais*: and as he could not but know all that passed in that transaction, it doth not appear to me reasonable to think, there was any real foundation for the scandalous aspersions thrown upon that young princess, by the idle

¹ *Hoveden. Benedict. p. 649.* ² *Rymer, i. 68.*

conjectures or malice of some writers on this occasion; and the¹ rather because RICHARD I. *Philip* urged afterwards *Richard's* refusal to marry her, as an excuse, to Pope A. D. 1191. *Celestine*, for having invaded *Normandie*, whilst that prince was in *Palestine*.

THIS treaty being signed in *March* at *Messina*, the king of *France* sailed thence on *Saturday* the thirtieth of that month for the *Holy Land*: and on *Saturday April 20*, arrived with his forces at *Acon*.² *Richard* with his principal nobility attended him out of port: but after sailing some time with him, tacked about with his galleys, and going to *Regio*, brought his mother and betrothed wife the same day to *Messina*. *Eleanor* parted thence four days after on her return to *England*; *Berengaria* staying with his sister, the queen of *Sicily*, to accompany the king in his voyage. He had not yet great vessels enough ready for the transport of his horses: but all things being at last provided, he demolished the fort of *Mategriffon*, and sailed on *Wednesday April 10*, from *Messina*, with a hundred and fifty great ships and fifty-three galleys. On the *Friday* following the fleet was dispersed by a storm; which obliged the king to put into the isle of *Crete* (from thence he passed to *Rhodes*) and drove three of the great buxses on the isle of *Cyprus* near *Limisso*; where two of them were stranded; *Roger* a clergyman, his vice-chancellor, whose corpse was found with the king's seal hanging about his neck, and several of his knights, being drowned. Such as made a shift to get on shore, were immediately seized, stripped of their all, and imprisoned by *Isaac* the tyrant, styling himself emperor of *Cyprus*; who would not suffer the third, which had the queen of *Sicily* and *Berengaria* on board, to enter the harbour. *Richard* having advice of their condition, came up with his galleys and the rest of his fleet to their relief; found them lying at anchor before the port, exposed to the wind and weather; and sent in a rage to the emperor to demand his pilgrims and all their effects, which had been seized: but receiving an haughty answer, landed his men, defeated *Isaac* in an engagement, and taking the town, brought his fleet into the port of *Limisso*. A second defeat of the enemy the next day determined the fate of the island; all the castles and towns surrendered; the emperor himself submitted at discretion: and *Richard*, on *Sunday May 12*, married *Berengaria*, and had her crowned the same day at *Limisso*, by *John* bishop of *Evreux*, assisted by the archbishops of *Apamea* and *Auch*, and the bishop of *Bayonne*. The king being obliged to stay some time in *Cyprus*, to settle his new conquest, and receive the homage of the nobility, sent the two queens, and the emperor's daughter and heir, before him, with the best part of his fleet and forces, to the siege of *Acon*; where they arrived on *June 1*, the day on which *Philip* count of *Flanders* died. The reduction of that rich island was a very important acquisition for the service of the *Christians* employed in the siege, who might easily be thence supplied with provisions; from the want whereof they had suffered grievously, whilst it was in the hands of the late emperor. The inhabitants of *Cyprus* had been horribly oppressed by that tyrant: and glad to be rid of him at any rate, gave a moiety of their goods to their deliverer *Richard*; who having confirmed their laws, customs, and privileges, and left *Richard de Camville* and *Robert de Turnham* governors of the island, sailed thence for *Palestine*. He met in his route a prodigious large bux, fitted out by *Saladine* at *Barut*, and manned with seven admirals, and fifteen hundred of the choicest of his troops, going with provisions and ammunition to the succour of the garrison of *Acon*: and having destroyed it, appeared on *Saturday June 8*, before the place, to the great joy of the *Christian* army, and to the terror of the defendants, who were equally dismayed at the loss of the bux, on which they had a great depend-

¹ *Rymer*, i. 99.² *Benedict*, p. 644. & seq. *Hoveden*. *Vinesauf*. l. ii. c. 26. & seq.

RICHARD I. ance, and at the sight of so numerous a fleet as made them despair of ever receiving
 A. D. 1191. any further supplies, and willing to surrender the place, if they might be suffered
 to quit it with life and liberty.

His actions in
 the Holy Land.

LV. THE siege had languished for some time: but the king of *England's* arrival giving spirit to the army of the besiegers¹, it was now carried on with vigour. His distinguished liberality to the common soldiers, that wanted pay, made every body sing his praises, and extol his magnificence; only the king of *France*, either envious of his glory and the figure he made, which eclipsed his own, or else greedy of money; sought occasions of dispute. ² They had agreed at *Messina* to divide equally between them, what acquisitions they made by their joint forces upon the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*, during their expedition: and *Richard* had given him a moiety of the booty he had taken in the great buss, with half of the prisoners. *Philip*, not satisfied with his share in a prize taken, not in the country but on the sea, by the king of *England's* forces alone, demanded likewise a moiety of the realm of *Cyprus*, and of the booty he had made in that island: but was answered, that if he would give him the half of *Flanders*, and of what he had got by the death of the count of *Flanders*, and of the *Castellan* of *St. Omers*, who had both died before the walls of *Acon* (and whose treasure and effects *Philip* had seized) he would give him the like share of his acquisitions in *Cyprus*, though they were not included within the agreement, which did not relate to conquests upon *Christians*, and was confined to *Palestine*. The king of *France* hereupon retracted his demand: and they renewed their convention about acquisitions in the *Holy Land*; appointing the knights templars and hospitallers to make the partition, whenever an occasion offered; as there did soon after by the surrender of *Acon* on the 12th of *July*.

³ PHILIP, desirous of seizing the opportunity, which the death of the late count of *Flanders* afforded him for the subduing of that country, had from that time been very uneasy at his stay before *Acon*; though he could not with decency return home before the place was taken. ⁴ But as soon as that objection was removed, and he had taken possession of his share of the town, as set out by the arbitrators, he proposed on *July* 22 to *Richard*, that he would consent to his returning home; pretending that the air of the country did not agree with him, and that he should die if he staid any longer. All the princes of the army exclaimed so vehemently against his going away, before the business he came for was finished, that he did not renew his motion for a few days; and in the mean time took occasion to quarrel with *Richard*, reviving the demand of half *Cyprus*; which was refused. *Philip*, impatient to be gone, to pursue his views in *Europe*, pressed on the 29th of the same month so earnestly for leave, that *Richard* at last consented, upon his swearing on the Gospels before all the world, that he would neither do any harm, nor suffer any to be done, to the king of *England*, or his vassals or territories, but would protect them from all hostile attempts and invasions, with as much care as he would his own city of *Paris*. Two days after this oath, the king of *France*, leaving most of his troops under the command of *Hugh* duke *Burgundy*; and obtaining, upon his request, from *Richard*, two of his best galleys, set out from *Acon* on his return home. As he passed by *Rome* he complained to Pope *Celestine* III, and the cardinals, that he could not stay or do any thing in the *Holy Land*, because of the king of *England*: and desired the Pope's license to revenge himself upon him in *Normandie*, and his other territories. ⁵ *Celestine* gratified *Philip*, in absolving him from his vow of pilgrimage, though he had not performed it, but not from that which

¹ *Imperf.* l. iii. c. 4. & seq. ² *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 21. *Benedict.* p. 654.

³ *Livoden.* p. 697.

⁴ *Benedict.* p. 660, 667. *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 22. ⁵ *Ib.* p. 720, 721, 727.

he had taken to do no harm to *Richard* or his territories; forbidding him absolutely to invade them, under pain of being excommunicated and of an interdict on his dominions. It was only to remove a squeamishness he apprehended in some of his vassals, that he asked such a license; being himself too much devoted to his interests, to mind either religion or honour, when they stood in his way: and notwithstanding the Pontif's menaces, he pursued his journey; resolved on the measures he had proposed; and arrived by *Christmas* day at *Fountainbleau*. RICHARD I.
A. D. 1191.

PHILIP's departure occasioned many ¹ thousands to follow his example, and threw all the charge of the war in the *Holy Land* upon the king of *England*; who carried it on with great vigour, notwithstanding the difficulties in which he was left involved. These arose chiefly from the dispute between *Guy de Lezignan* (who had been set at liberty by *Saladine* to promote it) and *Conrad* marquis of *Montferrat*, for the crown of *Jerusalem*; the former having been possessed of it in the life of his wife *Sibylle*, and the latter claiming it upon her death, in the right of his own wife, who was *Sibylle*'s sister. This last was violently suspected, and openly accused, of a treacherous correspondence with *Saladine*, nor durst he stand a trial on that head: but being supported by the king of *France*, an accommodation had been made between them by the award of all the princes of the *Croisade*; who adjudged “ the kingdom to *Guy* for his life, and the succession to *Conrad* and his
“ wife, and their heirs; the revenue thereof being in the mean time to be equally
“ shared between them; *Conrad* to enjoy *Tyre* with its dependencies, and *Geffrey de*
“ *Lezignan* (who had done eminent services in the war) the counties of *Joppa* and *Cæsarea* by hereditary right, but in vassalage of the crown of *Jerusalem*. *Conrad* however still persisted in concerting measures with *Saladine*, and never would, upon any summons, or in the most pressing exigence, join the king of *England*; who having repaired the walls and fortifications of *Acon*, marched from thence on *August* 22, towards *Joppa* along the sea-coast, to be supplied from his fleet with provisions; *Saladine* hovering with his army upon the mountains, ready to attack him upon any advantage. A ² river near *Cæsarea* affording this infidel prince what he sought, he disputed the passage of it with the *Christians*: but was routed on *September* 16, with the slaughter of forty thousand of his men, chiefly by the valour and good conduct of the king of *England*. *Saladine*, upon this disaster, ordered *Cæsarea*, *Joppa*, and *Ascalon*, to be demolished: and *Richard* taking possession of the two first, repaired their fortifications, and re-peopled them with twenty thousand men, which he chose out of the inhabitants of *Acon*. When this work was finished, he advanced towards *Jerusalem* ³ and in the week before *Christmas* defeated *Saladine* again in the plains of *Rama*: and might have taken the city, if the templars (who were of the *French* party) had not persuaded him to neglect it, in order to re-fortify *Ascalon*, which he did at his own expence.

LVI. WHILST *Richard*'s zeal for *Christianity*, or his furious inclination to war, kept him thus employed in the east, his affairs in *England* were in great confusion, through the arbitrary and oppressive measures of *William* bishop of *Ely*; to whom he had left the principal care of the government. ⁴ He had indeed joined *Hugh* bishop of *Durham* with him as a colleague, and had assigned the counties north of *Trent* for the particular exercise of his authority of justiciary: but as soon as *Hugh* came into *England*, and had delivered the king's letters, *William* seized upon his person, till he had delivered up the castle of *Windsor*, *New Castle upon Tyne*, the manor of *Sadberg*, and county of *Northumberland*, and given his son *Henry de*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 671, 673. *Vinesauf.* l. iv. c. 1. *Benedict.* p. 668. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 23. ² *Ib.* p. 676.

³ *Ib.* p. 721. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 587, 588. *Hoveden.*

RICHARD I. *Pufcy* and *Gilbert de la Ley* for hostages. *Hugh*, thus obtaining his liberty, went to his seat of *Howedene*: but would have been there taken again into custody by *William d'Estouteville* and *Osbert de Longchamp* (whom his brother the bishop of *Ely* had made high sheriff of *Yorkshire*) if he had not submitted to give security, that he would not stir from thence without the chancellor's, or the king's, licence. *Hugh* complaining of this treatment, *Richard* sent orders from *Marseilles*, that *Newcastle*, *Sadberg*, and *Northumberland* should be restored to him: but the chancellor refused to execute those orders; pretending that he knew the king's mind better, than it could be expressed in writing. *Richard* had placed too much power in the hands of his favourite¹, by getting the legatine authority added to what he enjoyed before as chancellor and chief justiciary: and *William*, raised from nothing to an height which turned his head, exercised all these² powers in the most tyrannical manner, and as if he thought himself absolute lord of the kingdom. When he went to make a progress, or to visit religious houses, he did it with a party of fifteen hundred horse, *French* or *Flemings*, and such a train of knights, clergy, and other attendants, besides an infinite number of minstrels, dogs, and horses, that the convent where he lodged could scarce, in three years, recover the expence of one night's entertainment. He put every thing to sale, to reimburse himself the money he had laid out in the purchase of his posts: and turned both clergy and laity out of their churches, lands, and possessions, to bestow them on his own relations, chaplains, and dependents. He disposed of the king's revenue, as if it had been his own, squandering it away, or employing it in purchases for himself; there not being an estate to be sold, but he bought it; nor a church, or an abbey vacant, but he kept it in his own hands, or gave it to some of his creatures; to whom he committed likewise the custody of castles, which he extorted from others by terror, or the force of money. All the nobility of the realm crouched before him, and were glad to marry his nieces and relations to make their court to him: nor did prince *John* escape without some indignities from him; which put him upon applying to the king his brother for redress.

RICHARD had received the like complaints from other great men, and dispatched *Walter* archbishop of *Roïen*, and *William Mareschal* earl of *Strigul*, on *February* 23, from *Messina*, with orders³, that nothing should be done in the government of the realm without *Walter's* advice, and the joint assistance of the earl of *Strigul*, *Giffrey Fitz Piers*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *William Briwere*. But when they arrived in *England*, they durst not deliver these orders to the chancellor; who still went on to dispossess every body he did not like of their posts and commands, especially such as had the custody of castles, and turned out *Gerard de Camville*, high sheriff of *Lincolnshire*. *Gerard* refusing to deliver⁴ up the castle of *Lincoln*, of which he was hereditary castellan, in the right of his wife *Nichola*, eldest daughter of *Richard de la Haye*, the chancellor marched with a body of troops to invest it: but receiving at once, news of the *Pope's* death, which sunk one part of his power, and a message from prince *John* (who had seized the castles of *Nottingham* and *Tikehill*) that if he did not quit the siege, he would come with an army to raise it, he thought fit to draw off his forces. He was the rather induced to this retreat, because he found most of the nobility with him, better affected towards the prince; and the foreign troops he had sent for, were not yet arrived. Several bishops interposing to make up the quarrel, a regulation was made, in relation to the custody of castles through the kingdom; in which *John's* interests⁵ and views were particularly consulted, by a provision that they should be delivered to him, in case the king should die with-

¹ *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 15. ² *Ib.* p. 58. ³ *De P. et L. p. 646, 649, 701, 702, 706.* *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 14. ⁴ *Diceto*, col. 659. ⁵ *De P. et L. p. 646.* *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 16. *Howedene*, p. 700.

⁵ *Benedict*, p. 694. *Neubrig*, *ib.*

out issue, and by the prelates and nobility swearing upon that contingency to his succession. This was what *John* had most at heart, and the chancellor complying in it, was allowed to retain his power: but there happened soon after another affair which put an end to his administration.

GEFFREY archbishop of *York* had got leave from the king to return into *England*: and queen *Eleanor*, when she left *Messina*, in order to go to *Rome*, had received orders from *Richard* to sollicite the *Pope* to confirm *Geffrey's* election, and give directions for his consecration¹. The reason was, that archbishop *Baldwin*, claiming the right of consecrating the archbishops of *York*, had discharged all the suffragans from consecrating *Geffrey*. *Celestine* had accordingly ordered the archbishop of *Tours* to perform the office, and the abbot of *Marmontier* to deliver the pall to *Geffrey*: who obtained likewise a bull of privilege for his church of *York*; exempting all the province from the jurisdiction of any legate, but such as residing ordinarily in the court of *Rome*, were sent *a latere* by the *Pope* into *England*. *Geffrey* having been consecrated, and received the pall at *Tours* on *September 1*; lost no time in coming over to take possession of his see; the temporalities whereof were still detained in the chancellor's hands (who had made a terrible havock on all his lands) notwithstanding the king's orders for putting the archbishop in possession. The chancellor had been formerly a retainer in *Geffrey's* family, and bound to him by an oath of fealty and homage: and such was the latter's kindness for him, that he had made him his official in the archdeaconry of *Roïen*, to the great indignation of his father *Henry*, who could not bear the man, and looked upon him as a traitor. The archbishop proposed to embark at *Witsand*: but when he came to the castle of *Guînes*, he found that the counts of *Flanders* had, at the chancellor's instances, given orders to prevent his passage. This restraint not extending to his retinue, they passed over before him in a *Boulogne* ship: and he meeting² with a small *English* vessel, got on board privately, and landed, on *September 14*, at *Dover*; where the orders given some time before, for keeping him in custody till the chancellor sent directions about him, were immediately put in execution. The castle of that place was in the hands of *Matthew de Clare*; who had married *Longchamp's* sister, and got the archbishop seized at his landing by a party of the garrison: yet he made a shift to get out of their hands, and take refuge in the church of *St. Martin*. This being a privileged place, belonging to the monks of *Christ-Church, Canterbury*, was invested: and guarded so strictly, that no provisions could enter. He was there required to take an oath of fealty to the king; which he declined as needless, having taking it already; though he was willing to repeat it before the prelates and nobility of the realm, if they thought it adviseable: and on the *Thursday* following, being taken violently from the altar in his pontifical vestments, by a party of *Flemish Brabantins*, he was dragged out of the church, and imprisoned in *Dover castle*; his baggage being plundered, and his horses seized at the same time, and sent to the chancellor.

THIS treatment of an archbishop³, generally beloved and esteemed, raised an universal clamour both among the clergy and laity throughout the kingdom: the bishops all took the alarm; *S. Hugh* of *Lincoln* excommunicated all concerned in it, a sentence confirmed soon after by all the bishops that met at *Reading*; and those of *London, Coventry, and Norwich*, threatened an interdict, if he was not set at liberty. *John* count of *Mortain* made the same demand; and the chancellor, seeing the whole kingdom in a commotion, was forced to allow *Geffrey* to come first to *London*, and then go to *Reading*⁴; where *John* had summoned an assembly of the prelates and nobility of the realm on *Saturday, October 5*, and where

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 689. *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 387, 388, 389, & seq. ² *Chr. Gervaf.* col. 1576. ³ *Ib.* p. 392, 394, 395, & seq. *Benedict.* p. 697, & seq. ⁴ *M. Paris.*

RICHARD I. those who had been joined with the chancellor in the regency, were present. There the king's letters abovementioned in favour of *Walter* archbishop of *Roën*, *William* *Mareschal*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *W. Briwere*, as well as others appointing *Geffrey* to assist in the council of state, and *Walter* to take care of the election for filling up the see of *Canterbury* (which the chancellor had hindered him from doing) were read: and *Walter* proposing that he should, for acting without consulting any of them, be turned out of the government, according to the tenour of other letters of the king's, which he produced, it was resolved to summon the chancellor, who was then at *Windsor*, to meet them the next day, *October* 8, near *Lodbridge*, between that place and *Reading*. The chancellor promised to meet them at the place of conference; and had he done so, he would probably, out of regard to the king, have been still left in the due exercise of his power, with the concurrence of his colleagues: but when he had advanced two miles of the way thither, with an armed force, his heart failed him; and turning back to *Windsor*, he fled thence in all haste to *London*, where he shut himself up in the tower. He had fortified it with a deep ditch, into which he had drawn the water of the *Thames*: but not having time to supply it with victuals for himself and his forces, before it was invested by the nobility and the citizens of *London*, he tried first to gain over prince *John* by great promises; and that method failing, through the influence of the prelates of *York* and *Coventry*, he was forced to submit to the sentence of the bishops and nobility. He appeared before them the next day: and after a full hearing, they adjudged him to be deprived of his posts of chancellor and justiciary, and of all the castles, the custody whereof he had usurped since the king's departure; leaving him however those which he had enjoyed before (*viz.*) *Dover*, *Cambridge*, and *Hereford*¹. *Walter* archbishop of *Roën* was made chief justiciary in his stead, pursuant to the king's orders: and being a man of great prudence, modesty, and integrity, acted with the advice of his colleagues in all the business of the government, to the general satisfaction, and the great tranquillity of the kingdom. The bishop of *Ely*, retiring to *Dover* castle, endeavoured to make his escape thence beyond sea, in a woman's dress: but being discovered by the awkward figure he made, and his inability to speak *English*, he was seized by a rabble of people, to whom he was extremely odious; and after various indignities, imprisoned at last in a dark cellar. The reason of his attempting an escape in such a clandestine manner was, that he had promised not to quit the realm without license, and to deliver all the castles he had usurped before he went: and he had not yet performed that engagement. The archbishop of *Roën* however, pitying his case, and fearing the count of *Mortain* might get into his hands the castles which had not yet been delivered, if he knew that the bishop of *Ely* was taken, dispatched an order for his release, with liberty to go beyond sea²: which this prelate did on *October* 29, being treated wherever he passed in *Normandie*, as an excommunicated person, by the same archbishop's orders, and divine offices ceasing wherever he abode.

THE bishop of *Ely*'s character of legate had ceased upon the death of Pope *Clement*, on *Wednesday*, *April* 10: yet he was so fond of pomp, that he continued to carry his legatine cross, till he was deprived of the government; though all the world knew his powers were expired, and he found the want of them, in his attack of the archbishop of *York*, as well as in his own prosecution. To remove this defect, as soon as he got abroad, he applied to Pope *Celystine* to renew his legation; and complained, by letters both to him and the king, of his being turned out of the government by the faction of *John* count of *Mortain*, who had a design upon the kingdom. The Pope readily appointed him legate of *England*; and wrote to

¹ *Nunbrig.* l. iv. c. 18. ² *Diceto*, col. 665.

the bishops of the realm to excommunicate the count, and all that were concerned RICHARD I.
in turning out that prelate, and to put their lands under an interdict ¹. The new A. D. 1192.
legate, sending the Pope's mandates to *Hugh* bishop of *Lincoln*, required him to see
them executed, and to excommunicate the bishops and others mentioned in a list,
which he sent, of persons against whom the Pope and himself had denounced those
censures; among which was *Benedict* abbot of *Peterborough*, the historian; who,
from the time of the chancellor's being turned out, had the custody of the king's
seal, till his majesty should appoint a successor. He sent the like letters to other
bishops; but none ² of them would execute either his or the Pope's mandates: and
the justiciaries ordered all the rents of the see of *Ely* to be seized for the use of the
king, to make satisfaction for the two years receipts of the royal revenue, which he
had embezzled or squandered; not having left a penny in the exchequer. Finding
his mandates and censures slighted, and imagining this arose from a maxime in
law ³, that a prelate cannot exercise any jurisdiction till he hath been in his pro-
vince, he resolved to go over into *England*, and to make a parade with his legatine
cross, in the very place which had been the scene of his late disgrace. He had pre-
pared the way for his reception, by gaining the favour of *John* count of *Mortain*,
either by a present of five hundred marks, or by greater promises ⁴: and landing,
about *April* 1, at *Dover*, staid in the castle till the return of messengers which he
sent to the queen mother (who being returned from *Sicily*, had lately come over
to *London*) with letters, notifying his legation and arrival. A council of the prelates
and nobility was held on this occasion: and though *John* acted such a part in his
behalf, as merited a reprimand from *Eleanor*, yet being bought off by a grant of
two thousand marks of the king's money, it was at last resolved unanimously, that
appeals should be made to the Pope, both by the spiritual and temporal nobility,
against his legation, and that *Longchamp*, being declared a disturber of the realm,
and a publick enemy, should be ordered with the severest menaces to quit *Eng-
land*. The legate, that he might not seem to have come over for nothing, and
without exercising any of his powers, put his own diocese under an interdict: and
returned in great confusion to *Normandie*; where he omitted no means to incite the
court of *Rome*, and the king of *France*, to do all the mischief they could to the
king of *England's* ministers and dominions.

THE king of *France* had no need of being instigated to what he always designed,
and had already attempted. He ⁵ had scarce allowed himself a few days rest after
his long journey, when he invited *William Fitz Ralf*, seneschal of *Normandie*, and
the nobility of that dutchy, to a conference, on *January* 20, between *Gisors* and *Trie*,
and demanded from them his sister *Adelais*, with the castle of *Gisors*, and the coun-
ties of *Eu* and *Aumale*; pretending that they ought to be delivered to him, pursuant
to his treaty with *Richard* at *Messina*. The *Normans*, alledging that they had no
orders on that subject, refused to deliver them; which produced menaces on his
part; and on their's, preparations for a vigorous defence. *Philip* finding this artifice
did not take, tried next to debauch *John* count of *Mortain* from his duty: and sent
to him to come over to *France*, that they might have a conference together; offer-
ing him his sister *Adelais* ⁶ for a wife, and to put him in possession of all *Richard's*
dominions on the continent, as soon as the marriage was solemnized. *John* was
ready for any measures, being incensed at his brother's declaration in favour of his
nephew *Arthur* ⁷; whom *Richard* had appointed for his successor, not only by his

¹ *Benedict*. p. 710, & seq. 734.

² *Ib.* p. 716, 706.

³ *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 402.

⁴ *Neubr. ib.* *Benedict*. p. 731, 732.

⁵ *Benedict*. p. 727, 728, 729. *Hoveden*.

⁶ This was no very tempting offer, if there had
been any truth in the story of this lady's being pub-

² *Ib.* p. 716,

⁴ *Hoveden*.

lickly proved at *Messina* to have had a child by
John's father; and how little religion soever *Philip*
had, he could never certainly have either proposed,
or been able to effect, such an incestuous alli-
ance.

⁷ *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 14.

RICHARD I. treaty with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, but by letters also to *England*; in consequence whereof, the late chancellor had entered into a negotiation with the king of *Scotland*, for his assistance to secure that succession; which coming to *John's* knowledge, was the first occasion of their enmity. It is not unlikely that the bishop of *Ely*, a man who stuck at nothing to gratify his avarice, and serve his ambition, had entered into this conspiracy with the king of *France* and the count of *Mortain*; and that his promises of promoting the latter's views, were the motives of his espousing this prelate's cause in the council of *England*. However this was, queen *Eleanor*, getting intelligence of *Philip's* offers, left *Normandie* in haste: and going over into *England*, found her son *John* ready to cross the sea, in order to the conference proposed. Her remonstrances, and the threats of the justiciaries and council of regency, that they would seize all his lands and castles, if he went, put a stop to his intended voyage: and a great council of the prelates and nobility of the realm being summoned to meet at *London*, they all renewed their oaths of fealty to *Richard* on this occasion. *Philip*, disappointed of his expectations from *John*, resolved however to invade *Normandie*: but he could not get his own nobility and vassals to join him in an attempt, contrary to the oaths they had taken, of not invading the king of *England's* lands, whilst he was engaged in the *Crocifade*, and venturing his life for the service of God in *Palestine*. The Pope too had a regard to this consideration, in repealing the sentences¹ of interdict upon *Normandie*, and the excommunication of the seneschal of that duchy, and his abettors; issued on occasion of their not suffering the two cardinal legates, that he had sent to make up the difference between the archbishop of *Rothen* and the bishop of *Ely*, to enter the country; because their lord not being returned from his pilgrimage, his territories were privileged and exempted from any legatine jurisdiction. The legates were *Octavian* bishop of *Ostia*, and *Jordano* abbot of *Fossa Nova*: but the censures were denounced only by the former, the latter absolutely refusing to join in them; which provoked *Philip* to such a degree, that he drove him out of his kingdom.

His acts in
Palestine, re-
turn, and cap-
tivity.

LVII. THE king of *England* in the mean time was struggling with difficulties² in the *Holy Land*; his army being much distressed for want of victuals, whilst he was repairing *Ascalon*; the *French* retiring to other places, to pass their time in luxury; *Conrad* refusing to join him with his forces; and quarrels arising between the *Pisans* and *Genoese*.³ The prior of *Hereford*, sent by the bishop of *Ely* to give an account of his being deprived of the government, and of prince *John's* designs upon the crown, arrived at the close of *Easter*: and *Richard* holding a council the next day, it was the general opinion, that as his return was absolutely necessary, it was impossible for the *Christians* to stand their ground in the country, without accommodating the dispute between *Guy* and *Conrad*; a thing impracticable, whilst the possession of the crown was in the one, the survivance in the other, and the inheritance in his wife's descendants. There was no likelihood of an union, till the jealousy arising from these jarring interests was removed: and no means appeared so proper for that end, as to place *Conrad* on the throne of *Jerusalem*. All the difficulty in this case was, to provide an equivalent for *Guy*: and this was removed by *Richard's* generosity, who made him a present of the kingdom of *Cyprus*, which his posterity enjoyed till *A. D.* 1472; when the widow of the last of his descendants, being of the family of *Cornaro*, disposed of it to the state of *Venice*. *Conrad* was sent for, to be invested with the royalty; and, transported with his elevation, was preparing to set out for *Ascalon*; when, coming on *April* 28 from an entertainment made him by the bishop of *Beauvais*, he was stabbed by two assassins, who, for the surer executing of their design to murder him, had intimated

¹ *Benedict.* p. 729, 742, 746.

² *Vinesauf.* l. v. c. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20.

³ *Ib.* c. 22, 23, 24.
themselves

themselves some time before into his service. ¹ They were subjects of a *Saracen* prince of a small territory, lying in the mountains of *Phœnicia*, or perhaps *Armenia Minor*, called the *Scheic*², or *lord of the mountain*; who seems to have been abbot, or superior of a conventual society, the members whereof he styled brethren, or friers, and instructed in learning, particularly in a great variety of languages, that they might be able, in any part of the world, to execute his commands; which it was their first principle to obey implicitly. If he ordered them to dispatch any prince or great man whatever, they readily undertook the commission, whatever danger there was in the attempt: and scarce ever failed of executing it, because they despised death and torment; being possessed with a superstitious notion, that they should enjoy immortal pleasures in another world, if they died for executing the orders of their superior. It was dangerous for the greatest potentate, to insult the lord of such desperate enthusiastical subjects, so that he generally lived unmolested by any of his neighbours³: nor did he use to do mischief to others, or employ the dreadful ministers of his vengeance, unless he was provoked by some heinous injury. One of his *confreres*, on board a ship of *Satala*, had been driven by a storm into the port of *Tyre*: and *Conrad* had ordered him to be killed, and seized all his money. The *Scheic* sent messengers to demand restitution of the money, and satisfaction for the death of the person killed, which *Conrad* laid upon *Reginald*, lord of *Sydon*: but this appearing to be false, and the *Scheic*, having undoubted information that *Conrad* had been the author of the murder, sent another messenger, one *Eurifus*, to him for satisfaction. It was with difficulty that *Conrad* was dissuaded from drowning *Eurifus* in the sea: and the *Scheic*, finding he could have no redress, resolved (according to his usual custom, which, after denial of satisfaction, allowed no injury to pass with impunity) no longer to delay his revenge, and sent the two assassins to murder *Conrad*. They were both taken, and confessed that they did it by the order of their prince, *the lord of the mountain*; who afterwards avowed the fact, and assigned the abovementioned reason for it, in his manifesto's, or letters to the king of *France*, the duke of *Austria*, and other *European* princes, in order to do justice to truth, and to clear king *Richard* from a vile aspersion, raised by the *French*, and encouraged by *Philip*, as if he had, underhand, employed the assassins that stabbed *Conrad*.

UPON this prince's death⁴, *Henry* count of *Champagne* marrying his widow, and being made king of *Jerusalem*, persuaded the *French* to march to the assistance of *Richard*; who had, in the mean time, taken the strong fortrefs of *Darum*; the onely one left undemolished by the infidels in the plains of *Palestine*. The whole force of the *Christians* being now united, it was resolved to march to *Jerusalem*⁵: but when they drew near the place, it was not thought proper to besiege it, by reason of the difficulty of being supplied with provisions; and the duke of *Burgundy* (who is said to have had orders from *Philip* to obstruct *Richard's* success) retiring with the *French* troops to *Tyre*, in order to return home, there were no hopes left of any further conquests. The king of *England's* troops were exceedingly wasted by continual fatigues and engagements; in which the king distinguished himself by such prodigious acts of valour, as rendered him the admiration and terror of the enemy: and *Saladine*, with an infinite number of forces, possessed the hills, ready to fall upon the towns along the sea-coast, as soon as *Richard* quitted the country. ⁶ Thus *Joppa* had been invested on *July* 26, the very day the king with his forces got to *Acon*, in order to embark; the town was taken, and the castle was reduced to extremity:

¹ *Vinesauf*, c. 26. *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 24. l. v. c. 16. ² An *Arabic* word answering to *Senior* or *Dominus*. *Du Presne Gloss*, v. SENEX. ³ *Rymer*, i. 71. *Dicto*, col. 680. ⁴ *Hoeder*. *Vinesauf*, l. v. c. 28, 39, 43, 47, & seq. ⁵ *Ib*, l. vi. c. 1, 2, 8, 9, 26. *Neubrig*, l. iv. c. 22. ⁶ *Vinesauf*, *ib*, c. 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, & seq.

RICHARD I. when ordering his forces to march by land, he passed thither by sea with an handful of men, and raised the siege by the terror of his name, and by a series of daring actions, in which he exposed his person to an infinity of dangers. ¹ He was called home by repeated expresses; the *French* would not join him, and were preparing to return to their own country: and seeing no other way of saving the country, he agreed, in these circumstances, on a truce for three years with *Saladine*; upon the conditions of demolishing *Ascalon*, and leave for the *Christians* to fortify *Joppa* and inhabite securely the adjoining territory and all the plains on the sea-coast, whilst the mountainous part of *Palestine* remained to the *Saracens*. ² *Richard*, having settled matters as well as he could in that part of the world, embarked on Oct. 9, at *Acon*: and as he could not pass with safety through *France*, or the count of *Toulouse's* territories, sailed to *Ragusa*, in order to travel home privately through *Germany*. But being discovered in a small village near *Vienna* ³, was there seized on Dec. 20, by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, who had received his pay in the *Holy Land*; either in revenge for a slight affront he pretended to have received there, or in hopes of getting a large sum of money for his ransom. This last was probably the real motive, since he made a stipulation for fifty thousand marks, when he delivered him on March 21 next following to the emperor *Henry VI*; who looked upon *Richard* as his enemy, on account of the alliance he had made with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, by the contract of marriage between his nephew *Arthur* and the daughter of that prince; whose crown he claimed in the right of the empress *Constance*.

A. D. 1193.
Attempts on
England and
Normandie,
during his
captivity.

LVII. THE emperor, in a transport of joy at the news of *Richard's* being seized by *Leopold*, communicated it immediately to the king of *France*: who had obliged him much in refusing an alliance with *Tancred* ⁴. *Philip*, to improve that event to his own advantage, dispatched agents into *England*, to assure *John* count of *Mortain*, that his brother would never get out of captivity, and to offer him his sister *Adelais* in marriage, with all *Richard's* dominions on the continent, and promises of assistance to put him on the throne of *England*. He sent ambassadors likewise to *Canute V*, king of *Denmark*; desiring his sister ⁵ *Ingeburge* in marriage, and asking no other fortune with her, but an assignment of the *Danish* claim to *England*, and the assistance of a fleet and army for the conquest of that kingdom. The princess was granted him with a portion of ten thousand marks; and he was married to her at *Amiens*: but whether the *Danes* ⁶ were discontented at his turning her off the day after the consummation of his marriage (which was followed by the formality of a divorce, upon the oaths of the bishops of *Beauvais* and *Chartres*, attesting the false pretence of a consanguinity between her and *Philip's* former queen) or were deterred from the enterprize by the greatness of the expence, the little likelihood of its success, and the danger of leaving their own country exposed in the mean time to the irruptions of their enemies the *Vandals*, he met with no assistance from that quarter. ⁷ *Philip* succeeded better in his negotiation with the count of *Mortain*; who, elated at the news of his brother's captivity, and flattering himself with hopes of mounting the throne of *England*, embarked hastily in the measures proposed, and went over in *January* to *Normandie*. The seneschal and barons of the country, having no suspicion of his treasonable designs, invited him to a meeting at *Alençon*, to consult about his brother's affairs and ransom: but *John* telling them plainly, that unless they would swear fealty to him, as their lord, he would not join with them in any measures against the king of *France*, they rejected his proposals, and

¹ *Ibid.* c. 26. 30. ² *Diceto*, col. 667, 668. ³ *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 23. *M. Paris.* *Diceto*, col. 670.
⁴ *Rymer*, ii. 70. *Hoveden.* ⁵ *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 26. ⁶ *Diceto*, col. 671. ⁷ *Diceto*, col. 668.

prepared as well as they could for the defence of the dutchy. ¹ John immediately entered into a treaty with *Philip*; and, being to receive from him, with his sister *Adelais*, the county of *Artois* (which had fallen to the crown of *France* upon the death of the late count of *Flanders*) made³ over to him all *Normandie* north of the *Seine* (except *Roüen* and two leagues about it, *Vaudreuil*, *Chefnebrun*, *Evreux*, with all the country on the *French* side of the *Iton*, *Vernueil*, *Tours*, with its dependencies, *Loches*, *Montbason*, *Chatillon sur Indre*, and the homages of *Montrichard* and *Amboise*. There were some other articles in favour of the counts of *Blois* and *Perche* and of the church of *St. Martin* of *Tours*: and ³ John having signed the treaty, and done homage for all his brother's foreign dominions, and (as it was said) for *England* too, repaired to this last country, to raise disturbances there, whilst the king of *France* fell upon *Normandie*.

RICHARD, though he had quitted the *Holy Land*, yet proposing to return thither after the expiration of the truce with *Saladin* (as he had signified to that *Mahometan* prince) still wore the badge of the *Croisade*: and his dominions were privileged from an invasion, as well on that account, as by the oaths of the king and barons of *France*, engaging not to attack them in any manner, till a certain number of days after his return home from *Palestine*. ⁴ This had restrained the *French* nobility from joining *Philip* in the attempt he proposed the year before: but *Conrad* having been assassinated, since that time, he thought, it afforded him a good opportunity to get over their scruples, by representing *Richard* in an odious light, as the author of that assassination. For this purpose, affecting to be afraid of a like treatment, he instituted a company of guards, armed with brazen maces, to be day and night about his person, never stirring abroad without them, nor suffering any unknown body to come into his presence. Whilst every body was amazed at a conduct so different from that of his predecessors, and from what he had hitherto observed himself, he called an assembly of his nobility at *Paris*; acquainted them with his fears of an assassination: and charging the king of *England* with the murder of *Conrad*, and with having sent assassins from the East to treat him in the same manner, pressed them to join him in taking revenge on so treacherous an enemy. The wiser part of the assembly thought it proper to wait for some proof of the fact and design, and to suspend, till *Richard's* return, a revenge which would appear very dishonourable in the eyes of all *Christians*, who knew he was abroad on account of the *Croisade*, and might draw upon them the Pope's censures. But others, flattering their monarch's passions, and applauding the precautions he took for his safety, declared themselves ready to join in his revenge: and *Philip* entered *Normandie*, where he expected to find little resistance, by reason of the intelligences which he and his ally *John* had in the country⁵.

PACEY and *Ivry* made no opposition to his arms; *Gilbert de Vascueil*, governor of *Gisors*, *Neufchatel*, and *Neaufle*, delivered up those castles, and joined him, with *Hugh de Gournay*: and the counties of *Aumale* and *Eu* being reduced with the same facility, *Philip*, who owed those conquests to treachery, advanced to besiege *Roüen*; hoping to gain admittance by terror, and threatening to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they offered to make any resistance. *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, who had distinguished himself by many extraordinary acts of valour in the *Holy Land*, was just returned thence, and animated the citizens to a brave defence; which obliged *Philip* to raise the siege, after being repulsed in various assaults⁶. This disappointment and the ill success of his application to the emperor for putting his vassal *Richard* into his hands; offering in that case sums even greater than could be expected

¹ *P. Daniel's Hist. de France, A. D. 1192.*

² *Rymer, i. 85.*

³ *Hoveden.*

⁴ *Neubr. l. iv. c. 25.*

⁵ *Hoveden, Vincens. l. ii. Rob. de Monte.*

⁶ *Neubrig. l. iv. c. 34. Chron. Gerwaf. col. 1582.*

RICHARD I. for a ranfome, and fufficient to have bribed *Henry*, if the princes of the empire had not opposed fo fcandalous a contract; difpofed *Philip* to hearken to a truce. *A. D. 1193.* This was agreed to on ¹ *July* 8, upon the promife of paying twenty thoufand marks to the king of *France* at different terms, commencing after the king of *England's* being fet at liberty, and upon the delivery of the caftles of *Driencourt*, *Arches*, *Laues*, and *Chatillon fur Indre*, as pledges for the payment.

SOME other caufes probably concurred to this agreement²; particularly the Pope's menaces of excommunicating *Philip*, and putting his realm under an interdict, if he did not withdraw his troops from *Normandie*; and *John's* being able to do little in *England*. This prince had, at his coming over, feized the caftles of *Windfor* and *Wallingford*; and going to *London*, pretended that his brother was dead, and required *Walter* archbifhop of *Roien* and the other jufticiaries to take an oath of fealty to him, and to perform the ceremony of his coronation. They giving him no credit, and refufing his demand, he made it his bufinefs to follicite all the nobility to efpoufe his caufe; fortified his caftles; and wafte his brother's lands in an hostile manner. He had brought³ over a great number of foreigners with him, and expected further fupplies of *French* and *Flemings*; a great fleet being prepared at *Witfand* for their transportation: but the jufticiaries fecured the ports fo well, and drew fuch a force down to the fea-coaft, that they durft not attempt to land in the kingdom. They befieged and took *Windfor*; an army was raifed in the north by *Geffrey* archbifhop of *York*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *William d'Ejlouville*; who fortified *Doncafter*: and the caftle of *Tikebill* was on the point of furrendering to *Hugh* bifhop of *Durham*. *John*, finding his party too weak to fupport him, was glad to make a truce till *Michaelmas*; delivering up the caftles of the *Pee* and *Wallingford*, that he might keep thofe of *Nottingham* and *Tikebill*. This truce, before the expiration whereof, *John* retired to *France*, was made foon after *Hubert Walter* bifhop of *Salifbury's* ⁴ arrival in *England*; who coming over on *April* 20, with the king's letters in his favour, was on *May* 29 following, by the unanimous fuffrages of the bifhops and monks, chofen archbifhop of *Canterbury*.

His ranfome, coronation, and acts after his return to *England*.

LIX. THIS prelate had been with *Richard* in the *Holy Land*: and in his return thence, hearing of his prince's difafter in *Germany*, had vifited him there, and came from him with a commiffion to raife money for his ranfome, and to procure hostages in *England* for the fecurity of its payment. The king had been treated fo very harfhly at firft, that he could not tell to what extremities the emperor might proceed: and to prevent any ill effects of orders that might be extorted from him, he had taken the precaution of writing to the archbifhop of *Roien*, to obey none but fuch as were for his honour and the good of the kingdom. He found however afterwards, that this uſage was only defigned to make him more eager for liberty, and the readier to comply with the demand of an exorbitant ranfome: which was at laft, by the mediation of the princes of the empire, in the diet of *Worms*, which opened on *July* 13, fixed at one hundred fifty thoufand marks of ſilver, *Cologne* weight; upon the payment of two thirds of which ſum, and hostages given for the reſt, the king was to be fet at liberty. In all parts of the world, where the feudal law prevailed, every military tenant was, by the grant and tenure of his land, obliged to give an aid for the ranfome of his lord out of captivity: and⁵ accordingly in *England* a ſcutage was raifed, at the rate of twenty ſhillings a knight's fee, upon the greater fees, and twelve ſhillings and fix pence on the leſſer, ſuch as thoſe of the honour of *Mortain*. There was on the ſame occaſion likewiſe due from

¹ *Rymer*, i. 81, 82, 83. ² *Howden*. ³ *Chron. Gervaf.* col. 1581. ⁴ *Ib.* 1582, 1583. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 35. ⁵ *Diceto*, col. 668, 670, 671. *Rymer*, i. 84. ⁶ *Rot. Pip.* 6 *Rich.* i. cities,

cities, burroughs, and manors, that were either demesnes of the crown, or in the king's hands by escheat, an aid called *Tallage* (and sometimes *Hydage*) which was assessed by the justices itinerant: but besides these payments of obligation, great sums were raised by the voluntary contributions of the prelates and nobility. There was such a zeal in all orders of men to procure the king's liberty, that by a general consent, the parochial clergy gave a tenth of their tythes; the bishops, abbots, and lay-nobility, a fourth part of their rents; the *Cisterians* all their wool (in which their revenue chiefly consisted) for one year; the parishes also melted down their sacred chalices; the cathedrals and monasteries sold their plate and treasures, amounting to the value of thirty thousand marks, which they had a promise of being reimbursed. In this manner was the money raised for the king's ransom: and the time of paying the hundred thousand marks approaching, queen *Elleanor*, and *Walter* archbishop of *Roïen*, set out a little before *Christmas* for *Germany*; leaving *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury* (who had been enthroned on *November 5*) guardian of the kingdom.

It was, on *February 4*, at *Mentz*, that *Richard*² was by the emperor set at liberty, *A. D. 1193.* with great ceremony, in the presence of the archbishops of that city and *Cologne*, the duke of *Austria*, and others of the *German* nobility: and leaving the archbishop of *Roïen*, *Baldwin Wak*, and others as hostages for the remainder of his ransom, set out for *Cologne*, and, after a short stay there, passed to *Antwerp*. The king of *France* had been very uneasy, from the time that the agreement had been first made for his ransom in the diet of the empire; and, to tempt the emperor³ to recede from it, had proposed an alliance with him, by marrying his cousin-german, the only daughter of his uncle the elector *Palatine*; and it was with this view, that he had repudiated *Ingeburge*. This scheme was agreeable enough to *Henry*; but was defeated by the young lady's mother; who did not care to marry her daughter to a man that had cast off the princess of *Denmark* in so shameful a manner: and chose rather to dispose of her to *Henry*, son of the duke of *Saxony*, king *Richard's* nephew⁴. *Albert* bishop of *Liege* had been lately assassinated, and a like attempt, designed upon his brother the duke of *Louvain*, had been discovered: the emperor was suspected of being the author of both these conspiracies; and a strong party had been formed against him in the empire. This rendering the king of *France's* friendship necessary to him, they had a conference at *Vaucouleurs* on the *Meuse*: and it was generally thought, that a resolution was there taken, to find out new pretexts to defer setting *Richard* at liberty. The emperor had no regard to his faith or honour: but whether he was afraid of the *German* princes, who, out of their affection and esteem of the king of *England*, were zealous for procuring his release, or whether he was minded to touch his money, before he merited⁵ as large a sum, which *Philip* and *John* offered for detaining him, though it was but for one year longer, he did not send orders for stopping him; till he was got to the port of *Sayne*, at the mouth of the *Scheld*, ready to embark for *England*. *Richard* was apprized of those offers before he left *Mentz*; and had immediately taken the precaution of sending for ships from *England* to transport him thither: but had been hindered several days by contrary winds from putting to sea; when he received, from a friend about the emperor, advice of the order sent to stop him, and of a design formed to keep him for ever in prison. This made him get hastily on⁶ board, and put off from the shore: nor was it long before a favourable gale wafted him over into his own country, where he landed, on *Sunday March 20*, at *Sandwich*.

THE emperor, vexed at missing his blow, vented his rage upon the innocent hostages; whom he had treated before with much civility: but now confined with

¹ *Dicto, ib.*² *Dicto*, col. 672.³ *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 32, 37. *Hoveden.*⁴ *Dicto, ib.*⁵ *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 40, 41. *Hoveden.*⁶ *Dicto, ib.*

RICHARD I. great rigour: and the king of *France*, in his fury upon the same occasion, breaking the late truce, fell with his forces into *Normandie*, though it was winter, and took *Evreux*, with several castles in the neighbourhood. *Richard* was, on the *Wednesday* after his landing, received in *London* by the citizens with extraordinary rejoicings, and such an ostentation of wealth, that the *German* noblemen who came with him¹ were amazed: and one of them said, he would have paid much dearer for his ransom, if the emperor could have imagined, there had been such an affluence of riches in *England*. There were very few of the *English* nobility in town; they being, as well as the bishops, employed in their several countries in reducing the castles of the count of *Mortain*, and his adherents, the garrisons whereof had lately made incursions over the countries adjoining. *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and *S. Michael's mount* had been taken: ² but the strong castle of *Nottingham*, fortified with all necessaries to sustain a year's siege, and that of *Tikehill*, still holding out, the king, after three days stay in *London*, marched to besiege them; and the garrisons of both surrendered at discretion.

RICHARD was now sensible of the mistake he had committed, in giving his brother so many earldoms and honours, that he was master of near a fourth part of the realm, and had such a multitude of dependants, that he was able to distress his government: and a little before his arrival, *John* had sent his chaplain, *Adam de S. Edmund*, over, with orders to all his friends and vassals to fortify his castles, and attack his enemies. *Adam*, full of vanity, could not forbear bragging openly of his master's intimacy with the king of *France*, and talked so much of his own commission, that he was taken up, and his papers seized; which discovering all *John's* instructions and designs, the justiciaries and council had given orders for the besieging all his castles, and disseizing him of all his possessions; and the bishops had excommunicated him and all his adherents. The king approved of these measures: and calling a great council of the prelates and nobility of *England*, on *Wednesday March 30*, at *Nottingham*, desired judgment as well against *John*, who, in breach of his allegiance, had seized his castles, wasted his lands, and entered into a league with his enemy the king of *France*, as against *Hugh Nonant* bishop of *Coventry*, one of his accomplices. They were both cited peremptorily to appear within forty days, and stand to justice; in failure whereof, the sentence³ of the nobility declared all *John's* estate in the kingdom forfeited, and decreed a process against *Hugh*, before the bishops in what related to his order, and before lay-judges, in what concerned his post of high sheriff. It was in this council, that every plough-land throughout *England* was charged with two shillings; an impost, called by some⁴ writers *Carrucage* and *Temantake*, but in the *Pipe-rolls* termed *Hidage*: and it being resolved, the king should be crowned again, *Low Sunday, April 17*, was fixed for the performance of that ceremony at *Winchester*.

THE reason of this second coronation was, according to ⁵*Neubrigenfis*, to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity; and as, among the old *Romans*, such a misfortune carried with it an extinction of all civil rights, it was not an improper method to be taken in a country, where the maxims of the civil law were in great repute, and had a considerable influence on the notions of the people. But the king seems to have had another view in it⁶; at least it afforded him a pretence for ordering his realm a-new; for repealing whatever he had done after his first coronation; for resuming all his former grants; and for annulling all the sales and contracts he had made before his expedition to the *Holy Land*; alledging that the grantees had received profit enough by them already, that they were unreasonable and detrimental to the crown, and no subjects ought to make an advantage of their king's neces-

¹ *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 42. ² *Hoveden.* ³ *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 42. ⁴ *Rot. Pip.* 6 *Rich.* i. ⁵ *Liv.* c. 42. ⁶ *Jt.* l. v. c. 1.

fities. No body durst dispute his will; not even the bishops, who were best able to do it, on account of their privileges and spiritual powers. *Hugh* bishop of *Dur-*
ham resigned his earldom of *Northumberland*¹; *Godfrey* bishop of *Winton* gave up
 the sherifalty of *Hampshire*, the castle of *Winchester*, and the two manors he had
 bought before the expedition of *Jerusalem*: and every body, following their exam-
 ple, parted quietly with their grants and purchases.

THE time of this general resumption was not a proper season for *William* king
Scotland (who had attended the king at the great council of *Notingham*, and staid
 with him, till he went abroad) to move for a grant of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*,
Westmorland, and *Lancashire*, under the pretence that his ancestors had formerly
 enjoyed those counties. This prince seems to have presumed on the easiness, he
 had formerly found in *Richard*, to alienate the possessions of his crown for ready
 money, and on his own late merit in refusing to join with *John* in his rebellion;
 when he made a request so very unreasonable, that it could not be granted without
 exposing the realm of *England* to continual dangers. When this petition was
 rejected by advice of the council, he offered fifteen hundred marks for the county
 of *Northumberland* alone; and the king would have granted it, with a reservation
 of the castles to himself; a condition, which did not suit *William's* designs. All
 that he could obtain, was a charter for bearing his expences in coming, staying,
 and returning, when he was summoned to attend the great councils of *England*:
 but this was so little in comparison of what he had asked, that he went home much
 dissatisfied². *Richard*, having persuaded the *Cisterians* to grant him another year's
 wool, or a composition for it in money, went, on *April 23*, to *Portsmouth* in order
 to embark for *Normandie*: but was detained by contrary winds till *Thursday, May 12*;
 when he set sail with a good body of forces, on board a fleet of an hundred ships,
 and landed at *Barfleur*.

LX. THE king³, going thence to his place of *Bures*, near *Bayeux*, found the
 next morning, at his levee⁴, his brother *John*; who, throwing himself at his feet,
 asked pardon of his offences, and, at the intercession of his mother, was received
 to mercy: but not restored to any of his lands till the next year, when his good
 behaviour procured the restitution of the counties of *Mortain* and *Gloucester*, and
 the honour of *Eye* (except the castles) and the grant of eight thousand pounds
Angevin a year, in lieu of his other possessions. From thence *Richard* passed to
L'Aigle, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his forces: and advanced, on
Whit-Sunday, May 29, towards *Vernueil*, which had been besieged eighteen days by
 the king of *France*; intending to try the next day the fate of an engagement. But
Philip having quitted the camp the night before, and the *French* army retiring from
 before the place, he carried his point without any hazard; having nothing to do
 but to pursue a flying enemy, and to repair the breaches made in the fortifications;
 and this done, he marched to the castle of *Mont-mirail*, which he found taken and
 demolished by the *Angevins*. Passing from thence to *Tours*⁵, he received from the
 citizens a free gift of two thousand marks (such as *York*, and other cities in *England*
 made him, though in less sums, to express their joy at his return home) and march-

War with
France, and
 leave given
 for turna-
 ments.

¹ *Hoveden*. ² *Newbrig. ib.* ³ *Diceto*, col. 673. *Hoveden*. *M. Paris*. *Spadig. Neustr.* p. 456. *Chron. Joh. Abb. Petriburg. Rad. Niger.* f. 65.

⁴ This circumstance shews the fallhood of the calumny thrown by some *French* writers upon *John*, in relation to the murder of three hundred of the *French* officers and soldiers in *Evreux*. According to their accounts, this affair happened on the eve of *Pentecost*, or the day before, fifteen days after *John's* submission: but it seems pretty clear, that

the burning of *Evreux*, in revenge of the insurrection of the citizens (who perhaps might kill such *French* as were in the place) immediately preceded the action of *Frettelal*; and the order of events (so miserably perverted in their relations) which happened afterwards, is undeniably settled by king *Richard's* letter of *July 22*, preserved in *Hoveden*.

⁵ *Rot. Pip.* 6 R. i. *Diceto*, col. 674. *Hoveden*.

RICHARD I. ing to *Loches*, one of the cautionary towns delivered for the late truce, took it by storm on *June 13*. The king of *France* had, in the mean time, proposed a conference for a truce at *Pont de l'Arche*: and, whilst *Richard's* commissioners were there expecting in vain the coming of the *French*, took and demolished the little castle of *Fontaines*, near *Rouen*; and in his retreat surprized the earl of *Leicester*, near *Gournay*. The treaty for a truce not succeeding, *Philip* burnt the town of *Evreux*, because the inhabitants had returned to the obedience of their lord the king of *England*: and went from thence to *Fretteval*. Whilst he lay there, *Richard* advanced to *Vendosme*: and intending the next morning (*July 5*.) to attack his enemy, found *Philip* retiring with his army in such confusion, that it was easily broke, great numbers being slain; the king of *France* himself narrowly escaping; his seal and portable chapel, all his baggage and treasure taken; with the instruments, signed by the king of *England's* rebellious subjects, obliging themselves to stand by *Philip* and *John* against their own sovereign. It was, till this accident, usual in *France* for the chancellors² to keep in their hands authentick copies of all grants and patents that passed the seals in their time, and for the kings of that realm to carry these with them into the field, and in all their journeys, either for the decision of disputes, or if they were minded, to reward the services of a brave subject, that they might do it without interfering with any former grant: but upon this disaster, when all the patents passed in *Philip's* time were taken, measures were contrived, not only for repairing that loss by requiring all the originals to be produced, but also for a better keeping of the records of that kingdom; which have ever since been carefully preserved. It is not unlikely, that this accident suggested the taking of a like method in this country, for the publick benefit, and the convenience of persons interested in charters; who would be on many occasions great sufferers, if there was not a known and certain place for the preserving of enrolled copies, to which they might have recourse for the proof of their rights, in case the originals should be lost: and yet it is certain, that we have no records in *England* ancients than the time of *Richard*, except *Domesday*, the *Red book of the Exchequer*, and the sheriffs accompts, all relating to the royal revenue, rather than to the subject.

THE king³ of *England*, after this victory near *Fretteval*, marched with wonderful expedition into *Guienne* against the count of *Engoulesme* and *Geffrey de Rancon* lord of *Pons*; who had taken arms in favour of his enemies: and in the space of sixteen days reduced *Chateaufort*, *Engoulesme*, *Montignac*, *la Chaise*, *Marcillac*, *Taillebourg*, and all their castles; making three hundred knights and forty thousand common soldiers prisoners. This rapidity of success forced those noblemen to a submission: and was followed by a truce, which being concluded on *July 23*, was to continue till the feast of *All Saints* in the year following. ⁴ *Philip* would fain have had it for three years: but *Richard*, though he wanted an intermission of an expensive war, to recruit his treasure and forces, did not care to leave him so long in possession of several places in *Normandie*; every thing by this treaty being to remain for the term agreed on in its present state, and no demolished fort to be repaired in that

¹ *Droits du Roy, par Dupuy*, p. 1005. *Gul. Brito, Philliadiad.* l. iv.

² The same method seems to have prevailed in *England*. Thus in the cause between the abbot of *Croyland*, and the prior of *Spalding*, about the marsh at *Croyland*, *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury* (who was chief justiciary, *A. D.* 1194, when *Richard* sent his letters of *January 22*, from *Spire* to him, for giving the abbot seizin of the marsh, and those of *September 30*, in the same year, for pardoning on default of appearing in the king's court during his captivity) certified to the chief justiciary and others of the same court in king *John's* time,

A. D. 1202, these facts: and transmitted authentick copies thereof. *Englase* also bishop of *Ely*, who had been vice-chancellor, and had the keeping of the king's seal in *Normandie* *A. D.* 1194, sent to the court a like certificate with regard to the last. (*Hist. Croyland Contin.* p. 465, 468.) This shews very plainly, that there was not, in *A. D.* 1194, any fixed place for enrolling such acts of our kings, but that they were then kept in the hands of the officers, who either issued them, or to whom they were directed.

³ *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 2. *Hoveden*, p. 741.

⁴ *Neubrig.* l. 5. c. 3.

time; only the king of *England* might, if he pleased, fortify *Neubourg*, *Driencourt*, *Conches*, and *Breteuil*. In this interval of war, which did not last so long as was RICHARD I.
A. D. 1194. proposed, *Richard* thought proper to provide against its being renewed, by examining into the state of his revenue; which he had reason to think had been much neglected or embezzled, during his absence in the East, and the troubles raised in *England* by his brother. The justices itinerant, going their circuits in *September*, were charged to enquire into the management of the demesnes of the crown, the lands of wards, escheats, and forfeitures, on account as well of *John's* insurrection, and the massacre of the *Jews*, as of all other misdemeanors: and into the wealth of the *Jews*, which afforded the crown a sure supply in any exigence; they being obliged to deliver true inventories of all their estates real and personal on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, and not entrusted with the keeping of pawns, bonds, or other securities for their own money, which, to prevent their frauds and moderate their usury, were always to be lodged in a publick office. He made himself a like enquiry abroad: and finding the officers of his revenue in *Anjou* and *Maine* guilty of great mismanagement, and unjust exactions on the people, he put them to great fines for their corruption. Going into *Normandie*, he found great fault with the truce concluded during his captivity, by which four strong fortresses had been put into the hands of his enemies. *William* bishop of *Ely*, his chancellor, had been the principal person concerned in it, and on that account had the seals taken from him: and a new great seal being made, all that had any charters passed under the former, were ordered to renew them on this occasion; the fees of the seal being considerable enough, to render this an expedient for raising money. The bishops and nobility of *England* had, before the king's return home, sent remonstrances to the court of *Rome* against that prelate's exercise of his legatine powers in this kingdom: but without any effect, till this disgrace happened to him; which shewing he was lessened in his master's favour, the *Pope* superseded his powers, and made *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*, his legate over all the realm; notwithstanding the privilege of exemption granted to the church of *York* by his predecessor.

It was not so much to increase his revenue as to gratify his passion for another expedition to the *Holy Land*¹, that *Richard*, being at *Ville l'Eveque* on *Aug. 22*, signified to archbishop *Hubert*, chief justiciary and guardian of the realm, that he had given leave for the use of tournaments in *England*. He had, the very day he was set at liberty, dispatched from *Mentz*, *Salt de Breuil* with letters to *Henry* king of *Jerusalem*; assuring him that he would return thither with an army for his succour by the time the truce was expired: and as the war was carried on in that country chiefly by horse service², he thought the use of tournaments would make his knights more adroit and expert in the management of their lances, and other military exercises. It was for this reason, that the *Roman*³ youth exercised themselves in the the *Quaintaine* and the courses and circular movements of horses after the *Trojan* manner: and⁴ the *Goths* in the time of *Totila* were trained to the use of spears and tilting on horseback; slaves being excluded among the first, and none but gentlemen of noble birth admitted in the last of these diversions; which being designed purely for a trial of strength, and to qualify persons for the services of their country, none were called to an account for any slaughter that happened in them, when allowed by publick authority. The first instance that we have of tournaments being so authorized⁵ was in *A. D. 934*, when the emperor surnamed *Auceps*, instituted a very pompous one at *Magdeburg*: and appointed the forms and regulations thereof

¹ *Neubrig.* p. 744. ² *Diceto*, col. 676. *Hoveden.* ³ *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 4. *M. Paris.*

⁴ *Vegetius De re milit.* l. i. c. 11. & 14. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xi. ⁵ *Procop.* *Hist. Goth.* l. iii. c. 3. *Leccen. Antiq. Suevo-Goth.* l. iii. c. 3. ⁶ *Munster, Cosmog.* l. iii.

RICHARD I. to be drawn up by *Conrad* count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Herman* duke of *Suabia*, *Bertold* of *Bavaria*, and *Conrad* duke of *Franconia*; which last, about eight years after, celebrated another at *Rotenburg*. This practise was soon after copied in *England*¹, where king *Edgar* instituted a gild or society of knights, for the like ludicrous encounters with pointless lances, giving them a piece of ground in the east of *London*, where *Portjoken* ward and *East-Smithfield* now stand, for their exercises: and they continued to enjoy it till the time of king *Stephen*, when they conveyed it to the priory of the *Holy Trinity*. They began in the next century to be used in *France*; *Geffrey* lord of *Pruilly* in *Anjou*, with several other barons, being, *A. D.* 1066, killed in one of these tournaments, of which the *Chronicle* of *Tours* represents him to be the inventor: and the *French* grew extremely fond of them, because they served to distinguish the nobility of their race; proclaiming them very frequently, and celebrating them with the greatest magnificence; especially after the wars of the *Holy Land* had introduced coats of armes, devices, and other illustrious distinctions. They were so adroit in these exercises, that *Philip*, thinking he should have an advantage in putting the matters in dispute between him and *Richard* upon the issue of a combat between five of his own, and as many of the latter's knights, made the proposal at this time, as an expedient for saving the effusion of *Christian* blood: but *Richard* agreeing to it upon condition, that he should be himself one of the five on his own part, and the king of *France* on the other, *Philip* thought fit to drop the party. In *England*, during the lawless government of *Stephen*, there were some exercises of this nature, but without the warrant of publick authority: and *Henry II* was so strict in prohibiting them all his reign, that his son *Geffrey*, being desirous after his knighthood to shew his address therein, was forced to go abroad to gratify his passion in that respect on the frontiers of *France*; where tournaments were almost continually exhibited; notwithstanding the canons of several councils under the Popes *Innocent II*, *Eugenius III*, and *Innocent III*, forbad them, and all that died in them were denied *Christian* burial. The *English* nobility thought it a grievance to be debarred of a liberty, which their neighbours enjoyed: and *Richard* obliged them much in allowing them to hold tournaments in five places², at the expence of twenty marks for an earl, ten for a baron, four for a knight that had lands, and two for one that had none; no foreigner being suffered to appear therein, nor any that did not pay these sums; of which *Theobald Walter*, the first chief butler of *Ireland*, was appointed treasurer. Oaths were taken by the combatants, and regulations made to prevent breaches of the peace, and waste in the king's forests, by the great trains which used to attend noblemen to these exercises: but there were none to put any restraint upon the luxury and profuseness, to which the vying with one another in equipage, habits, liveries, devices, decorations, and entertainments, naturally disposed the adventurers.

It was at an exercise of this kind³, that *Leopold* duke⁴ of *Austria*, amusing himself on *S. Stephen's day* with his knights, that had resorted to his court to keep *Christmas* with the usual solemnity, had the misfortune to have his foot mashed to pieces by a sudden fall of his horse, as he was wheeling about in the snow that covered the ground: and was forced to cut it off, in hopes of stopping a gangrene, which ensued. This remedy did not prove effectual: and there being no hopes of recovery

¹ *Register. S. Trin. London. penes J. Asstic. arm. Stow's Annals, p. 138.* ² See *Concil. Lateran. A. D. 1179 can. 30.*

³ These places were between *Salisbury* and *Wilt-*
shire, between *Warwick* and *Kenilworth*, between
Blackley and *Mixbury*, between *Blythe* and *Tykehill*,
between *Stamford* and *Warringsford* (now pro-

nounced *Wansford*.)

⁴ So all writers say, except *Gervase*, who represents the fall as occasioned by his riding up a hill of snow raised by boys, who were endeavouring to beat it down. *Col.* 1588, 1589.

⁵ *Neubrig. l. v. c. 8. Diceto, col. 678. Howden.*

he sent for the bishops, who had come on occasion of that festival to *Gratz*, and desired to have the excommunication taken off, which the Pope had issued against him for his injustice to the king of *England*. He was obliged, and his nobility with him, to take an oath to stand to the judgment of the church, with regard to the satisfaction he ought to make in that point, before he could get absolution: and then declaring ¹ *Richard* released of all conventions between them, he ordered the money he had received for his ransom to be restored, and the *English* hostages to be set at liberty. One of those conventions was, that *Richard's* niece *Eleanor*, sister to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*, should be given in marriage to *Leopold's* son: and *Baldwin de Bethune* was actually on the road, conducting her towards *Vienna*; but when he heard of this accident, he returned with his charge to *Bretagne*. The young duke of *Austria* did not care to execute his father's order, and suffered his corpse to lie a week unburied, before he would release the hostages: but the bishops persisting in their refusal to use the *Christian* rites of burial, till this was done, he dismissed them at last, and offered them four thousand marks to be restored to *Richard*. The dangers of a long journey, and the insecurity of the roads they were to pass, deterred them from charging themselves with the money: but their return, and the late duke's release before his death, freed the king from the payment of the remainder of his ransom², amounting to twenty thousand marks, according to *Brompton's* computation.

LXI. THE emperor *Henry* had, by the help of his share³ of that ransom, raised a great army: and marching into *Italy*, had reduced *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; being crowned king of those countries in the right of his empress *Constance*, on *Christmas day* at *Palermo*. Having passed the winter in those parts, and held an assembly⁴ of the nobility in *Puglia*, at which *Constance* (who had, in the *Christmas* holidays, been delivered of a son named *Frederic*, at *Esi*, in the *Marca d'Ancona*) was present, here turned in the spring to *Germany*, elated with his success, and full of projects for reducing all the countries of *Europe*, that had been formerly members of the western empire into a state of vassalage. It was with this view that he had offered *Richard*, whilst his prisoner, the kingdom of *Provence*, and the provinces about the *Rhone*, which had been once imperial fiefs, if he would take the trouble of conquering them: and though this prince had declined the offer, yet considering the terms on which he stood with *France*, *Henry* imagined he might be tempted to attack that country on one side, whilst he invaded it on another, in order to force *Philip* to do him homage. This was the design of an embassy, which he sent soon after *Midsummer* to the king of *England*, with the present of a golden crown, probably meant for that of *Provence*, and to make an offensive league against *France*; which he represented as unable to oppose two such formidable powers united, or to hinder his recovery of the places, which he had lost in *Normandie* during his captivity. *Richard* had no reason to be satisfied with *Philip's* proceedings; the truce had been ill observed; *French* parties having committed frequent depredations in his country: and when he was lately at *Chinon*, fifteen *Sarazens*, impertinently solicitous to get near his person, had been seized upon suspicion; and being examined, had confessed they had been sent by the king of *France* to attempt his life. But he knew there was no dependance upon the emperor's engagements, and that he was full of chimerical projects; that he had lately been on a foot of intimate friendship with the king of *France*: and he could not tell but this might be a contrivance between them to draw him into some inconvenience, and into a breach of the truce, in order to fall upon him with their joint forces⁵. He had found little benefit

RICHARD I.
A. D. 1194.

A. D. 1195.
Treaty with
the emperor,
and peace
with France

¹ Rymer, i. 99.

² Ccl. 1261.

³ Hoveden.

⁴ Giannoni. *Hist. di Napoli*, l. xiv. c. 1.

⁵ Hoveden, p. 734.

RICHARD I. from the pensions he had given the *German* princes for their assistance against *France*: but an alliance with the head of the empire, being much more considerable, and not to be lightly rejected, for fear he should enter into one with his enemy, he sent the bishop of *Ely* to discover *Henry's* views, and to learn the particulars of his proposal, the number of troops he would employ in it, with the time, place, and manner of its execution. *Philip*, getting intelligence of the treaty, tried in vain to intercept the bishop, as he passed through some part of his territories¹: and made use of it as a pretext, to declare the truce at an end, to make incursions into *Normandie*, and to demolish several of the castles which he held in that province, too much exposed, and too numerous to be easily defended. Among others, that of *Vaudreuil* was designed to be so treated: but *Richard* advancing with an army to the place, *Philip* thought fit to amuse him with a conference, till his design was executed. In the midst of their discourse², a great part of the walls of the castle being undermined, fell down with an horrible noise; which made *Richard* in a fury break off the conference, and put himself at the head of his army to fall upon the *French*; who thought fit to retreat beyond the *Seine* in so much hurry, that *Philip* had like to have been drowned in passing a bridge, which broke under him and the croud of his followers. Several *French* knights were left and taken in *Vaudreuil*, no longer tenable: and the king of *England*, advancing thence into *France*, destroyed the corn and vines, and made terrible ravages in the open country.

IN the mean time, advice coming of the king of *Castille* being routed and besieged in *Toledo*, by a prodigious army of *Moors*, which threatened to over-run all *Spain*; and that king applying for immediate succours in his distress, a new treaty was set on foot, and a scheme of peace between the two crowns was drawn up: but as *Richard* did not yet know the emperor's resolution, and it behoved him to manage a prince, who had in his custody several of his hostages, the conclusion of it was deferred till the octave of *All Saints*, but with such expectations of its then taking effect, that *Adelais* was now delivered to her brother *Philip*, who married her immediately to the count of *Ponthieu*. The two kings came, on *November 8*, to the neighbourhood of the place appointed for their meeting near *Vernueil*: but *Philip*, by an artifice (in which the archbishop of *Reims* was his instrument to tell *Richard* he came too early, and to keep him from being on the spot at the precise hour fixed for it) eluded the conference; apparently for no other reason, but that his troops might the more³ securely (whilst the king of *England* was in that quarter) have their revenge in ravaging another part of *Normandie*, and burn, on *November 10*, the town of *Dieppe* (which *Richard* had lately new built) and all the ships that lay in the harbour. Thus was the war renewed: but did not prove of long continuance⁴. A body of the king of *England's* *Brabantins* having taken the count of *Auvergne*, and surprized *Yssoudun*, and *Philip* hastening thither with a small army to besiege it, this drew *Richard* from *Vaudreuil*, which he was fortifying, to relieve the place: and a peace was again proposed. The bishop of *Ely* was now returned: and had found no solidity in the emperor's promises, nor any certainty in his measures; only that he was desirous *Richard* should continue the war against *France*, till he had recovered the places lost during his captivity; and to encourage him therein, offered to⁵ remit him seventeen thousand marks which remained unpaid of his ransom. The king of *England* chose rather to pay that money than enter into *Henry's* measures: and though by his unexpected and expeditious march with a good body of troops, he had an advantage against *Philip*, who could not retreat without great danger, thought fit to hearken to the treaty which this last proposed. The terms of peace were accordingly settled in a conference of the two kings alone on *December 5*, the

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 757. & seq.² *Neubrig*. l. v. c. 15.³ *Hoveden*.⁴ *Neubrig*. l. v. c. 15, 17.⁵ *Neubrig*. l. v. c. 27.

eve of *S. Nicholas*, between *Yffoudun* and *Charost*: and were afterwards ratified, on *RICHARD I.* *January 14*, in a meeting at *Louviers*, between *Vaudreuil* and *Gaillon*, in the presence of great numbers of the nobility of both kingdoms. *A. D. 1195.*

By the articles of this peace¹; “*Gisors* and *Neaufle*, with the *Vexin Normand*, “*Neufmarché*, *Gaillon*, *Vernon*, *Pacey*, *Ivry*, and *Nonancourt*, with their dependencies, were to remain to the king of *France*; who was to give back to *Richard* “the counties of *Aumale* and *Eu*, with the castles of *Arques* and *Driencourt*, and “what else had been taken from him since his captivity, except the places before “mentioned. *Andely*, belonging to the archbishop of *Roüen*, was not to be forfeited: and the limits of *France* and *Normandie* between *Vaudreuil* and *Gaillon* “were to be marked by a line drawn from the river *Eure* to the *Seine*. The king “of *England*, giving up what he had claimed in *Auvergne*, was to retain *Yffoudun*, “*Grassay*, with all the fiefs belonging to them, and those of *la Chatre*, *S. Chatclet*, “*Chateau Meillant*, and *Seillac*, with their dependencies in *Berry*: but *Philip* was “allowed to fortify *Villeneuve sur Cher*. The prisoners were to be released on “both sides; the count of *Toulouse* was to be left in the same state he was in on “*September 5*: and the counts of *Perigord* and *Engoulesme*, being restored to their “lands, were to do their homage and services to *Richard*.” These were the principal articles of the treaty²; to which *Hoveden*, *Neubrigensis*, and others, add a particular convention, for the forfeiture of fifteen thousand marks by the party, that first broke the conditions, and began hostilities.

LXII. WHILST the king was engaged in war abroad, *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury* was exercising in *England*, the legatine character lately given him, in ^{Transactions in England, and sedition in London.} triumphing over the rival church of *York*, and his authority of chief justiciary and guardian of the realm, in preserving the peace of the kingdom. *Geffrey* archbishop of *York* seems³ to have been of his father *Henry*’s principles with regard to the court of *Rome*: he discountenanced all appeals thither, and imprisoned such as made them; he minded no privileges granted by the Pope; slighted all decrees made by the papal authority; and when any of his clergy had by application procured such decrees in their favour, he insisting on the old customs and laws of the realm, deprived them of their dignities and benefices. There could not be a greater offence committed against the court of *Rome*: and this prelate having at the same time a dispute with his chapter about putting in a dean of *Yorke*, to which dignity he claimed a right of collating, and they of electing, and being in disgrace with the Pope, if not under a suspension for neglecting to appear at *Rome*, upon summons to answer some groundless articles exhibited by them against him, it was a very favourable juncture for *Hubert* to exercise his legatine jurisdiction over that province. In this situation of affairs, no body in *Geffrey*’s absence ventured to oppose his visitation, notwithstanding the exemption of that church from the legatine jurisdiction, which *Celestine* superseded on this occasion: and the legate held in *June*, as well a *Court Christian*, in which he deprived *Robert* abbot of *St. Maries*, as too old and infirm for government, as a synod of the diocese, in which he made several canons agreeable to the determinations of former councils.

In his administration of the government, *Hubert* took care⁴ to suppress the robbers, which sheltered by the forests spread in all parts of the realm, infested the country; issuing a proclamation against them and all that harboured them; and obliging all persons of the age of fifteen and upwards to take an oath to discover, and do their best to seize them, and to keep the king’s peace themselves. By this means many being taken, and the rest flying, the nation was freed from those disturbers of its

¹ *Rymer*, i. 91.² *P.* 765. l. 5. c. 18.³ *Hoveden*, p. 762.⁴ *Hoveden*, p. 757, 774.

quiet;

RICHARD I. quiet; and king *William* found the regulation so useful, that he soon after established the same in *Scotland*. *Hubert* had a more difficult work in suppressing the squabbles and tumults that frequently happened between the rich and poor citizens of *London*, and in preventing the mischiefs threatened by a dangerous conspiracy and association carried on there, by one *William*, called *Longbeard*, from his letting it grow to an excessive length, to render himself the more remarkable by that distinction. The man was a lawyer by profession; had very quick parts, some learning, and a very fluent tongue; was forward, impudent, and enterprising, a libertine, and capable of any iniquity: and had falsely accused his elder brother of treason, because he would not supply his extravagance. He hoped to make his fortune by being popular; and working himself into the affections of the common people, had got into a share of the magistracy of the city; setting himself up for an *advocate*, or (as he styled himself) the *king*, or *favour of the poor*, on all occasions. The king's ransome and foreign wars having caused some tallage to be raised on the city, he maintained that these were laid unequally: and as they ought to be assessed according to the estates and abilities of the citizens, he complained that the poorer sort were over-rated; and going abroad to the king, procured them a redress of that grievance. This success establishing his credit with the populace, and affording him a pretence to brag of the king's favour, he grew intolerably insolent: and animated his accomplices to insults, so that the better sort of citizens were forced to stand upon their guard night and day, and tumults frequently happened even in the church of *St. Paul*. Whether any endeavours were used to propagate this seditious spirit, into other places, *Hubert* put forth a proclamation forbidding the poorer citizens to stir out of *London*: but it was there risen to such an height, that fifty-two thousand persons had set their names to an association for obeying all the orders of *William*; who made no scruple of committing murders, and had provided great plenty of iron tools for breaking open the houses of the wealthy citizens. The evil was grown to such an height, that it was generally apprehended it would end in the destruction of the city; and it was high time for the government to interpose with its authority: but as the faction was so very strong, the archbishop thought it best to proceed by degrees, and begin in a gentle manner. A common hall being convened, *Hubert* harangued the citizens: and complaining in mild terms of the disorders daily committed, and of the plots and measures imputed to them by common report, persuaded them to give hostages for keeping the peace, in order to avoid any sinister interpretation of their conduct, or suspicion of their designs. When this was done, *William* was summoned before the council to answer to an accusation brought against him: but he came attended with such numbers, that his accusers durst not give in their testimony, and the trial was put off, till he might be found without his mob, and be seized without a tumult. The people were grown more quiet, since they had given hostages for their behaviour: and two of the chief citizens finding a convenient opportunity, *Hubert* sent a guard with them to seize *William*; who killing one of them with an halbert, got from his house to the neighbouring church of *S. Mary le Bow*, with his concubine, and some of his accomplices, who had slain the other citizen. This church he made use of as a garrison, rather than a sanctuary; fortifying himself there with armes and provisions, and expecting to be joined by the populace; who were concerned for him, but durst not attempt to rescue him, either out of regard to their hostages, or for fear of the military forces, that invested the church, and were well armed, as well as numerous. *Hubert*, to be sure of his point, had taken the precaution to send for these out of the provinces: but though they patrolled about the streets, and surrounded the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 765. *Naufrag.* l. v. c. 20, 21, 22. *Diète*, col. 691. *M. Paris.* *Gervais.* col. 1591.

church so, that it was not possible for *William* to escape thence, he refused to come out and submit to a trial; still feeding himself with vain hopes of being relieved by the conspirators. The archbishop ordering the church to be forced, *William* was obliged to retire into the steeple; where he kept garrison till he was almost suffocated by the smoke of a fire made to drive him thence; and being then necessitated to quit his retreat, was taken, tried, and condemned by the king's court to be drawn at an horse's tail from the tower, through the streets of the city to the elms, and to be hanged in chains with nine of his accomplices. Endeavours were used to represent this murderer and libertine as a martyr; impudent reports were spread of miracles wrought by him; the gibbet was stole, in order to be honoured like the cross; the turf about the place it stood on, was carried off for the cure of the sick: there was an infinite resort of people to the place, either out of curiosity or devotion; and notwithstanding his crimes, he might have passed for as good a martyr at *London*, as *Becket* did at *Canterbury*, if the archbishop had not set a guard on the place to keep off the senseless multitude, and used some other wholesome severities; which, in a few days, stifled the falsehoods that were given out, and put an end to the superstition, into which the credulous populace was running.

This¹ happened in *Lent*, a few days after the decease of the abbot of *Caen*, a notable man in worldly affairs; who had insinuated himself into the king's favour, and persuaded him that a great part of the revenue of the crown was embezzled by the frauds of his officers; and it might, by an honest and careful management, be easily doubled, without any grievance to his subjects. The king sending him over to execute his scheme, with powers to call all the sheriffs and officers of his revenue to an account, orders were sent to them throughout *England* to come at *Easter* to *London* with their accompts, to lay them before the abbot; who, to their great satisfaction, died before the day appointed. Archbishop *Hubert* was neither pleased with his commission, though he had given the necessary orders for its execution, nor sorry for his death: and perhaps the different resolutions, which *Hubert* is represented to have formed about this time; having first desired leave of *Richard* to resign his civil posts, as too great a burden for him to bear, and when he had got leave, offering, notwithstanding his age, to continue in his employments. As chief justiciary and guardian of the realm, he had the chief management and direction of the crown revenue, which all passed through his hands: and to engage *Richard* to continue him in the government, perhaps to remove the late abbot's suggestions out of the king's head, he sent him word, that he had looked over all his accompts, and found he had, in the two last years, remitted him eleven hundred thousand marks out of *England*. There needed nothing more to engage the king to continue so good a manager of the patrimony of the crown, and a man so useful for his service in the posts, which he had hitherto filled with dignity, and had exercised the powers annexed to them with great prudence, judgment, and capacity.

He had been employed in the beginning of this year to treat with *William* king of *Scotland*, for the marriage² of his eldest daughter *Margaret* with *Otho*, a younger son of *Henry* the *Lion*, duke of *Saxony*; to whom that king, having no male issue, when he was ill the year before at *Clac-man-nan*, had proposed to give her, and make him his successor in the throne of *Scotland*. Earl *Patrick*, and others of the *Scotch* nobility, being desirous that *David* earl of *Huntingdon* should succeed his brother, declared themselves against this settlement of the crown on a foreigner; alledging that it did not use to descend to a daughter, when the king reigning had so near a male relation as a brother: but *William*, upon his recovery, still persisted

¹ *North's* l. v. c. 19.

² *Hoveden*, 767.

³ *Ib.* p. 757.

RICHARD I. in the same resolution. It was either to confider of measures to baffle the efforts of the opposers, or to procure such advantageous terms from *Richard* in favour of his nephew *Otho*, as might reconcile the *Scots* to his succession¹, that *Hubert* came at *Christmas* to *York*, to confer with the king of *Scotland*. The terms agreed on were, that *William* should give all *Lothian* with his daughter to *Otho*, and *Richard* should grant to them and their heirs all *Northumberland* and the county of *Carlisle*; and that the king of *Scotland* should have the custody of these two last counties; and the king of *England* that of *Lothian*, with the castles therein respectively. Before this agreement could be executed, the queen of *Scotland* became pregnant of a son, which put a stop to the whole scheme: and it was perhaps to comfort *Otho* under the disappointment, or by way of acknowledgment for services done him during his captivity in *Germany*, that before this year expired, *Richard* gave him the county of *Poitiers*², by which, in the language of that age, is usually meant the dutchy of *Guicenne*. *Hubert* had, not long after, an occasion of exercising the military talents he had acquired in the wars of *Palestine*³; for *Rees* prince of *South-Wales*, having burnt *Caermarchen* and the castle of *Clun*, taken that of *Radnor*, and defeated *Roger Mortimer* and *Hugh de Saye* in battle⁴; and *Wenwynn* prince of *Powis* infesting the borders of *Shropshire*, he marched with an army against the latter, took his castle of *Poole*, and manned it with a strong garrison. It was indeed recovered after his return to *England*: but *Rees* dying on *May* 4, the year following, and his sons drawing *Wenwynn* and others of the *Welsh* nobility into their quarrel about his succession, *Hubert* had an opportunity of getting *Griffith*, the eldest son of *Rees*, into his hands: and by making an accommodation between the parties, restored the peace of the country.

War again
with France.

LXIII. THE peace which the king of *England* had made with *France*, was, in a little time, violated by the latter, on occasion of some disturbances in *Bretagne*. *Constance*, the heiress of that country, after the death of her husband *Geffrey*, to whom her father *Conan* had, by the articles of their marriage, consigned the dutchy, was married to *Ralf Blundeville* earl of *Chester*; who had, upon that account, possession given him of the honour of *Richmond*, and under the late king administered the affairs of *Bretagne*. This nobleman did not agree well with his wife; nor was his government agreeable to the *Bretons*⁵: they had driven him the year before out of the country, and he had retired to his lands in *Normandie*. A little after *Easter* this year, the king, desirous to make peace between them, sent for *Constance*: but she being surprized by her husband on the road at *Pontorson*, and confined in his castle of *S. James de Bevron*; *Andrew de Vitre* and other *Breton* noblemen sent to her for directions about the conduct proper for them to observe, either for procuring her liberty, or for securing the interests of her son *Arthur*. This young prince was now scarce nine years old: and the king claimed his guardianship, as well because he was his father's brother, as in the right of superiority, which the dukes of *Normandie* had over the fief of *Bretagne*. *Constance*, provoked probably by her imprisonment, sent them instructions by *William* seneschal of *Rennes*, to take care of the person of her son, to do homage to him, and support his interests. These would certainly have been best promoted by keeping well with his uncle⁶; to whom he was presumptive heir, and who had already shewn his affection to him, by declaring him his successor in all his dominions: but several of those lords, into whose hands *Arthur* fell, were in the *French* interest; and when *Richard* came to *Rennes*, in hopes of finding his nephew, and of being received for his guardian, they had conveyed him away to *S. Paul de Leon*, in the lower *Bretagne*, and applied

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 579. ² *Ib.* 766. ³ *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 247, 248.

⁴ *Hist. de Bretagne par d'Hozier*, p. 201, 202, 203, 204. *Hoveden*, p. 766.

⁵ *Gervaf.* col. 1596. ⁶ *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 18.

to *France* for assistance. *Philip* was now sorry that he had given up so many fortresses in *Normandie* by the late peace: and seeing that *Richard* had been forced to send *Marchadée* with his *Brabantins*, and *Stephen de Turnham* with the forces of *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and *le Maine*, and a party of *English* and *Normans* into the further parts of *Bretagne* (where a bloody battle was fought near *Caerbaes*, in the diocese of *Cornouaille*, between them and the *Bretons*, with some disadvantage to *Richard's* forces) he resolved to embrace an opportunity, that appeared so favourable, to renew the war with advantage. This exposed the abbots of *S. Denis*, *Marmoutier*, and *Cluny*, and the prior of *la Charité* to the payment of fifteen thousand marks forfeited by the infringer of the peace, for which they had been his sureties: and to make good the money, *Richard* seized the lands belonging to those convents in *England*.

It was some time after midsummer, that the king of *France*, fell with a great army into *Normandie*, and invested *Aumale*; one of the castles which he had delivered up at the late peace, and which had been since well fortified by *Richard*, and supplied with men and provisions. The king of *England* was not prepared for this invasion; most of his forces being employed in *Bretagne*: yet drawing a small body together, he took *Nonancourt*; and having ravaged the borders of *France*, made an attempt to relieve *Aumale*. The party which he proposed to throw into the place being defeated, the garrison, after a brave defence of seven weeks, during which great numbers of the besiegers had fallen in various unsuccessful assaults, was at last forced to surrender; the castle was demolished: and it cost *Richard* three thousand marks to ransom the prisoners. *Philip* not long after recovered *Nonancourt*, and the king of *England* took *Gamages*: such were the little actions, which passed in this year's campaign; at the latter end whereof, *Richard's* affairs were greatly amended. He had by wasting the lands² of the *Breton* lords, forced them to a submission, to comply with his terms, and to give hostages for their fidelity; *Constance* being set at liberty, and her son committed to her care, under an obligation to do nothing without the king of *England's* advice. He had secured the quiet of *Guienne*, and put an end to a quarrel, which had lasted near forty years with the count of *Toulouse*, by agreeing to the latter's marriage with his sister *Jane*, relict of *William II*, king of *Sicily*.³ *Raimond VI*, had seen that fair widow, as he passed with queen *Berengaria* in their return from the *Holy Land*, through his father's territories to *Bordeaux*: and was much taken with her beauty and amiable qualities. They were married in *October*: and in consideration of this marriage, of homage, and the service of five hundred horse for a month, at the count's expence, whenever there should be a war in *Guienne*, *Richard* restored all the castles he had formerly taken from his father, and gave him the *Aginois* and *Quercy*.

Thus secure on the side of *Guienne*, the king proposed to strengthen the frontier of *Normandie*: and as the isle of the *Seine* near *Andely* afforded the *French* an easy passage into the country, he resolved to fortify *Andely* to stop their incursions. *Robert de Monte* placeth the erecting of this fortress in *A. D.* 1198: but it was probably begun at the latter end of this year; since *Walter* archbishop of *Roïen* opposing the work⁴ and agreeing to refer the matter to the Pope, went to *Rome*, and *Richard's* agents set out after *Christmas* holidays on their journey thither; *William* bishop of *Ely*, one of the number dying on *Jan.* 31, *A. D.* 1197, at *Poitiers*. *Andely* belonged to the see of *Roïen*: and the archbishop taking no care to fortify

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 765. *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 18, 25. ² *Hoveden.* *Rob. de Monte.* *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 30.

³ *Catal. Hist. des Comtes de Toulouse*, p. 223. *Chron. Anon.* p. 160. *Bern. Guido de Com. Tolos.*

⁴ *Neubr.* p. 39. l. v. c. 29. *Hoveden.* *Angl. Sacr.* i. 632.

RICHARD I. it, the king, for the security of the country, resolved to be at the expence of so necessary a work; offering to make satisfaction for the damages the church would suffer. That prelate, too stiff in the point of ecclesiastical rights to comply in the least article for the sake of the publick good¹, rejected the equivalent proposed; appealed to the Pope for redress of the pretended injury: and put all *Normandie* under an interdict. The Pope, upon hearing the cause, saw clearly the reasonableness of the king of *England's* proceedings: and ordered *Andely* to be conveyed to him, in exchange for lands of an equal value. ² *Richard* gave the church of *Rothen*, the towns of *Dieppe*, *Louviers*, and *Bouteilles*, with other possessions, worth above five hundred a year more than the revenue of *Andely*: and the instrument containing this exchange being executed on Oct. 17, the fortifications of the last named place were completed, and the famous *Chateau-Gaillard* erected; which served on that side for the bulwark of *Normandie*.

THERE had been, for five years together, in the west of *Europe*³, such inclement seasons, continued rains, and bad harvests, that there was a great dearth of all sorts of grain, and it was very difficult to support an army in the field: in *England*, particularly, the poor died of want, or were carried off in vast numbers by a plague, the natural consequence of a famine. This was perhaps the reason, why the war between the two crowns was carried on chiefly by small enterprises and sudden incursions. In one of these, as soon as *Easter* holidays were over, *Philip* entering *Picardie*, took on April 15, the town of *S. Valery* on the *Somme*; destroyed the castle; seized all the ships in the port, many whereof were richly laden; and having hanged up the masters of five *English* vessels, who had brought corn and provisions for the relief of the enemy, returned with a great booty into *Normandie*. Not long after, the castle of *Milly* in the *Beauvoisis* was invested by *John* count of *Mortain*, and *Marcadée* general of the *Brabantins*: and being taken by assault, was demolished. *Peter de Dreux*⁴, cousin german to the king of *France* and bishop of *Beauvais*, had advanced with *William de Merlau*, and a body of troops to raise the siege: but falling into an ambuscade on Monday May 19, they were routed and both taken prisoners. The bishop, who had more in him of the soldier than the prelate, was kept closely confined with fetters on his feet at *Rothen*: and two of his clergy coming to petition for a milder treatment, *Richard* told them, he did it by way of retaliation for many injuries he had received in the East, as well as in *Germany*; where having been treated with decorum till *Peter's* arrival and conference over night with the emperor, he was loaded the next morning with as many irons as an horse could carry; the effect of that prelate's intercession. The bishop applied to the Pope, in hopes he might interpose for his release: but the Pontiff declining to make such a demand in favour of a man taken in arms, the king would not release him, unless he paid ten thousand marks for his redemption. *Richard* afterwards having taken *Dangu*, a place considerable by its situation on the frontiers of the *Vexin Normand*, near *Gisors*, marched into *Auvergne*, where he reduced ten castles: but in his absence, *Philip* recovered *Dangu*; and having demolished it, was called away with his forces into *Flanders*.

THE king of *France* had, from his first entrance upon government, made it his business to retrench the privileges, and crush the power of his nobility, who had acted in former reigns, as if they had been independent on the crown: and the greater a chief was, the more was it the object of his jealousy and encroachments. This had caused a general discontent among the great lords; and whilst all expected daily some defalcation of their power, *Richard* found means to gain some of them

¹ *Neubrig*, l. v. c. 28. ² *Diceto*, col. 700. *Rymer*, i. 97. ³ *Neubrig*, l. v. c. 26, 31. ⁴ *Hevelin*, *Neubrig* l. v. c. 31. *Diceto*, col. 696. ⁵ *Ib.* col. 697. *Hevelin*, p. 768. ⁶ *Al. Paris. Neubrig*, l. v. c. 32.

over to his interest. The most considerable of these were the princes ¹ of the house of *Champagne*, and *Renaud de Dammartin* count of *Boulogne*, in right of his wife *Ida*, the eldest daughter of *Matthew*, brother to *Philip* late count of *Flanders*: but neither of them so powerful as *Baldwin*, the present count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*; who could not but resent the loss of a third part of his territories, which had been seized by the king *France* upon the death of his predecessor. *Richard* entered ² into a league with this prince, designed to be perpetual in peace and war, and to be obligatory on their heirs as well as themselves; engaging to assist and defend one another on all occasions; to carry on the war jointly against *France*; and not to make either truce or peace with *Philip*, without their mutual consent. *Baldwin* was, in consequence of this treaty, supplied by the king of *England* with five thousand marks, levied a great army: and, having taken *Douay*, *Aire*, and several other fortresses, sat down before *Arras*. *Philip*, to stop his progress, advanced with his forces into *Artois*: and upon the news of his approach, *Baldwin* raised the siege; retiring with his troops to tempt the enemy to pursue him the more eagerly. ³ But when *Philip* was got far into the country, without having taken proper precautions to secure the bridges on the rivers he had passed, the count took care to break them, to open the sluices, and to seize passes behind him; so that about the middle of *August*, the *French* army could neither be supplied with provisions, nor make a retreat without the utmost danger. In these difficulties, ⁴ *Philip* sent to treat with *Baldwin*, to put him in mind of his duty as a vassal of *France*, and to assure him of the restitution of what had been taken from him, if he would break with the king of *England*, the great enemy of the *French* monarchy. The count ⁵, flattered with the prospect of getting quietly all that he desired, declared, that having given hostages for the performance of his treaty with the king of *England*, he could not quit him abruptly, nor absolutely conclude a peace in form without his consent, which he would do all he could to obtain; but signified withal to *Philip*, that he might retire with his forces, without any apprehensions of being attacked. Thus the *French* army got off in safety; and *Philip* having gained his ends, forgot, according to his ordinary practice, all the stipulations he had made, and for the performance whereof he had given hostages to *Baldwin*: who acting the part of a mediator, persuaded the king of *England* to agree to a conference on *Wednesday*, ⁶ *September* 17, between *Gaillon* and *Audely*. The animosities of the two kings were as yet too keen to allow them to agree on terms of peace: but the nobility on both sides, the services of whose tenures were the principal sinews of the war in those days, and the clergy, being ever desirous of putting an end to hostilities, their instances prevailed so much upon their lords, that a truce was concluded for a year; with stipulations for a liberty of commerce between the two nations, and that the prisoners on both sides should be released, upon paying a reasonable ransom.

LXIV. *RICHARD* saw plainly, that there was no depending on the count of *Flanders*: and it was not so much his instances that prevailed with him to come into this truce ⁷, as the persuasions of *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*; whom he had sent for over into *Normandie*, and who continued with him from the middle of *June*, to the beginning of *November*. It ⁸ was on the twentieth of this month, that (by the advice of the prelates and barons, as *Walter de Coventry*, *Brompton*, and others, say) he issued a proclamation, ordering one coin only to be current, and one set of weights and measures to be uniformly observed throughout *England*, with some regulations to secure them from being falsified, to fix the breadth of woolen

¹ *Nenbrig*, l. v. c. 32. ² *Rymer*, i. 94. *Diceto*, col. 697. ³ *M. Paris*. *Gervaf.* col. 1597.

⁴ *Hoveden*, p. 770. ⁵ *Chron. Gervaf.* col. 1597. *Hoveden*, 770. ⁶ *Gervase* says this conference was on *September* 8. ⁷ *Gervaf. ib.* *Diceto*, col. 700. ⁸ *Hoveden*, p. 775.

RICHARD I. cloths at two ells within the list, and to prevent some frauds made use of to impose
 A. D. 1198. on buyers in their goodness. He afterwards made a progress into the marshes of
Wales, changing the governors of the castles of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, and *Bridgenorth*:
 and going thence to *Coventry*, turned the secular canons out of the priory, and
 restored the monks, who had been expelled by *Hugh Nonant*, bishop of the diocese.
 This was done in pursuance of a mandate from Pope *Celestine*; who dying at the
 time of this progress on *January 8*, *Hubert* found his authority much abridged;
 his character of legate ceasing by that event ¹, and he not being able ever to get it
 renewed by *Innocent III*, a young cardinal, thirty seven years of age, now raised to
 the papacy. Whether this Pope had any particular prejudice to the archbishop, or
 was displeased at his going on with the chapel of *Lambeth*, a work begun by his
 predecessor *Baldwin*, suspected by the monks of *Christ-Church Canterbury* to be
 carried on with the same design, as the late collegiate church of *Hakinton*, and
 therefore ordered soon after by *Innocent* to be demolished ², he thought fit to hearken
 to the complaints of those monks on another subject; in which not being them-
 selves particularly interested, they could have no design, but to lessen the power of a
 man, whom they considered as too potent an enemy. They wanted to remove
Hubert from his post of chief justiciary: and as the ecclesiastical canons forbade all
 clergymen to take upon them civil employments, *Innocent* found thence a pretence
 to order the archbishop to resign his post; in which he was succeeded by *Geffrey*
Fitz Piers, who in the right of his wife *Beatrix de Saye*, had succeeded to the barony
 of *W. de Mandeville*, the late earl of *Essex*.

It was ³ in the time of this new justiciary, who had been before a justice of the
 king's court, that the instructions, mentioned by *Hoveden*, were given to the itinerant
 justices, and the assize of the forest was published by *Hugh de Nevil*, chief justi-
 ciary of the forests of all *England*, and his associates; which there is no occasion to
 specify, because agreeable to those in the reign of *Henry II*, except in one instance.
 This was a declaration in the king's name, that offenders, who committed waste in
 his forests, or destroyed his venison, should no longer have the benefit of the mild
 regulations of his father; who inflicted on them moderate fines, or a short impris-
 onment; but should, as in the reign of *Henry I*, be punished capitally. It was
 under this justiciary's administration, though it be uncertain whether it was not
 begun by *Hubert*, and only ⁴ enhanced by *Geffrey*, that the talliage, mentioned by
 historians, was collected, at the rate, first of two shillings, but afterwards raised by
 the additional payment of three shillings more, for every carucate or hide of land
 through the kingdom; the quantity of each hide being settled at an hundred acres ⁵.
 This rate of five shillings on six score acres (such was the usual computation of an
 hundred) was deemed a very heavy tax in those days, and was indeed the highest
 that had been laid, since the reign of the *Conqueror*: it fell not on the gentry who
 held by knight's service, but on socage tenants and farmers. The king had a power
 of laying talliages on all the demesnes of the crown: nor were cities and burghs,
 though incorporated and endowed with various privileges, exempted from this
 branch of power; no charter of the crown, or grant of a fee-farm to corporations,
 ever giving up the royal prerogative in this respect. But this tax seems to have been
 laid by the consent and authority of the lay-barons; as well, because it was charged
 on their tenants and copy-holders, as because the vassals of the prelates are not
 mentioned; and there is an express exception in favour of the free tithes of parish
 churches ⁶. It appears likewise from the same historian, that the clergy refused at
 first to concur in this grant: but having, on account of their refusal, been put out
 of the protection of the king's courts, and disabled to recover any debt or forfeiture,

¹ *Chron. Gervaf.* col. 601, & seq.

² *Hoveden*, p. 779.

³ P. 783, & seq.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 778.

⁵ *Selden's notes on Hengham*, t. vi. p. 1918.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 785.

whilst every body was encouraged to sue them, they were at last, by this discipline, ^{RICHARD I.} constrained to consent to the like tax of five shillings an hide on their lands, as had ^{A. D. 1198.} been granted before by the laity. The money was collected by the bailiff, and two legal knights of each hundred; who answered for it to the sheriff of the county: and this officer accounted for it to the exchequer. *Geffrey's*¹ administration was likewise signalized by an expedition into *South-Wales*, to raise the siege of *Castle Payne* in *Radnorshire*; where *William de Brause* was attacked by *Gwenwynwyn* lord of the higher *Powis*, in revenge of the murder of his cousin *Trabern Vaughan*, who had been treacherously put to death by *William* the year before. The justiciary brought with him a good body of forces, and was joined by the lords of the marches with theirs: but *Gwenwynwyn* rejecting all overtures of peace, *Geffrey*, not thinking himself yet strong enough to fight him, set *Griffith ap Rees* at liberty, in order to raise his followers, and have his revenge on a man, who had done him great injuries, and usurped some of his territories. This *Welsh* prince joining the *English* with his forces, a battle ensued, on² *Aug.* 13; in which *Gwenwynwyn* was routed; above three thousand of his army were slain on the spot, abundance of prisoners taken: and *Geffrey*, after this victory, returned home with great honour.

THE king in the³ mean time had been summoned to attend a *German* diet, called to meet at *Cologne* on *April* 24, for the election of an emperor, in the room of *Hen. VI.* who had died the year before on *St. Matthew's* eve, at *Messina*. The method then taken in the election was, that the prelates and nobility of the empire, being met together, chose twelve persons, and presented them to the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and these four making choice of one of those twelve, he was declared king of *Germany*, and crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. The reason, why *Richard* was summoned, seems to have been, either on account of the late emperor's grant to him of the kingdom of *Provence*, or because the lands which he possessed in *France*, had been formerly part of the empire; and had, upon *Philip's* invading them, after notifying to him that he rejected his homage and renounced him for a vassal, done homage for them, whilst in dures, to the late emperor. He did not care to go in person, for fear either of some ill usage from the friends of the late emperor, whose corpse still lay unburied on his account, for want of the restitution of his ransom, or of being teased for money by others, to whom he had made promises during his captivity: but sent ambassadors to the diet, with instructions (since his eldest nephew *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, who was also the count *Palatine*, could not be chosen by reason of his absence in the *Holy Land*) to sollicit the election of this prince's younger brother *Otho*; who was accordingly one of the twelve returned to the principal electors. *Philip* duke of *Suabia*, brother to the late emperor, was another of the twelve; but the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* made choice of *Otho*, who was afterwards approved by his brother *Henry*. *Otho* thus legally elected⁴, married afterwards a daughter of the duke of *Lovain*: and was crowned on *July* 12, at *Aix la Chapelle*, by *Adolph* archbishop of *Cologne*, in the presence of his father-in-law, the duke of *Limburgh*, the counts of *Flanders*, and *Namur*, and abundance of other princes and prelates of the empire. His right was disputed for some years by *Philip*: yet had *Richard* lived longer, this would not have hindered his receiving considerable services from an alliance with *Otho* and the princes of his party.

IN this contest between the houses of *Saxony* and *Suabia* for the empire, the king of *France* took part with *Philip*: and⁵ on *June* 29, made a league with him

¹ *Gervase* of *Canterbury*, col. 1614, ascribes this expedition and victory to archbishop *Hubert*; adding, that upon his return from it in *August* he

resigned his guardianship of *England*, to *Geffrey*.

² *Diceto*, col. 704.

³ *Hoveden*, p. 776.

⁴ *Diceto*, col. 703.

⁵ *Rymer*, i. 107.

RICHARD I. against the emperor *Otto*, the king of *England*, the archbishop of *Cologne* and the count of *Flanders*; whilst this count¹, with the duke of *Lovain*, the counts of *Braine*, *Bologne*, *Guifnes*, *Perche*, *Blois*, and *Toulouse*, adhered to *Richard*; engaging upon oath to make no peace with *France*, but by common consent. The truce between the two crowns expiring at the end of harvest, and *Philip* having kept none of his stipulations with the count of *Flanders*², *Baldwin* entered *Artois*, with an army; and investing *S. Omer*, on *Sept. 6*, took it after a siege of three weeks. The king of *France* began the war about the same time on the frontiers of *Normandie*; but in a more cruel manner than had ever been known before; putting out the eyes of such as he had taken prisoners; which provoked *Richard*, much against his will, to a retaliation. The two kings came soon to an action between *Gamages* and *Vernon*, in which the king of *France* was routed with a considerable loss, and pursued by *Richard* to the gates of *Vernon*; from whence the former retired to *Mante*, to recruit his forces. The king of *England* after this victory reduced the castles of *Cerifontaine*, *Bouris*, and *Courcelles*; all of them very conveniently seated to straiten *Gisors*, especially the last, which was taken by storm: but *Philip*, being ignorant of that event, resolved to attempt its relief³. With this view, he marched on *Sept. 28*, from *Mante*, at the head of four hundred knights, with a thousand esquires on horseback, and a large body of the *French* militia: but when he was advanced near *Courcelles*, finding the place was taken, he wheeled off towards *Gisors*. *Richard* was at *Dangu*, when he received intelligence of their march; and imagining that *Philip* was coming directly to fight him, drew up his army on the banks of the *Epte*, on the *Dangu* side of the river: but finding, by the alteration of his route, that he had no such design; and being perhaps better informed of his numbers, he passed the ford with a small party of his troops, and attacked him between *Courcelles* and *Gisors* with so much resolution, that the *French* were routed, and fled in great disorder, to the last of those fortresses. They could not enter it but by a bridge that lay over the *Epte*; which, as *Philip* was passing it, followed by a crowd of run-aways close pursued by the enemy, and eager to get into a place of safety, broke under their weight: and all that were upon it fell into the river; *Milo de Pusy* count of *Bar sur Seine*, and *John de Barres*, with about twenty knights, being drowned, and the king himself narrowly escaping by being succoured immediately. This accident cutting off the retreat of the rest, they were most of them either killed or taken prisoners; there being among the latter an hundred knights of figure and quality; three of which, *Matthew de Montmorency*, *Alan de Rouffy*, and *Fulk de Gilerval*, were unhorsed by a single lance, and taken by *Richard* himself. The names of forty of these are particularly mentioned in the letter⁴ the king wrote on this occasion to the bishop of *Durham*: in which it is further observed, that the other knights, esquires, and foot, made prisoners, were very numerous; and that there likewise were taken two hundred charging horses, seven score whereof were covered with plates of iron.

THIS victory was followed by ravages in several parts of the *French* territories; the most remarkable whereof, was the incursion made⁵ by *Marcadée* with his *Brabantins* into *Picardie*, as far as *Abbeville*; where a fair afforded him an opportunity of taking a great booty, and a number of merchants, whose wealth enabled them to pay large sums for their ransom. *Richard* erected the fortress of *Boutavant* in

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 781.

Gervasi, col. 1614. *Hoveden*, p. 781.

² *ib.* p. 712. *Diceto*, *ib.* *Brompton*, col. 1276.

³ In this letter the king ascribes the victory, not to his own valour or conduct, but to God and to

his own right, which is generally thought to be the original of the motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT, in the arms of *England*.

⁵ *Hoveden*, p. 783, 786.

an isle of the *Seine*, whilst the king of *France*, raising a new army, took his revenge RICHARD I.
 by burning again the town of *Evreux* and seven villages in the neighbourhood: A. D. 1198.
 but being weary of the war, overtures were made for a peace; in which he offered
 to restore to the king of *England* all the territories and castles he had taken since the
 expedition of the *Holy Land* except *Gisors*; and as to their right in this place, he was
 ready to submit it to the judgment of six *Norman* barons, to be chosen by himself;
 and as many *French* to be named by *Richard*. This proposal was equitable; and a
 peace would probably have ensued, if *Philip* had consented that the count of *Fland-*
ers, and the other *French* counts and barons, that had adhered to the king of *Eng-*
land, should be included in it: but his refusal of a condition, on which *Richard*
 peremptorily insisted, broke off the treaty of peace, and they could only agree on a
 truce from *November* to the feast of *St. Hilary* next following. *Philip* was with
 reason very uneasy at the strong alliance, which this last prince had formed: and
 wanted to break it at any rate; having no hopes of gaining any advantage by war, till
 this was effected. It was not to be done without a long peace or a truce; and no way
 appearing so likely to bring this about as the *Pope's* interposition, he applied to the
 court of *Rome*, to use its good offices for making up his quarrel with the king of
England. *Innocent*, intent upon procuring relief for the *Christians* of the *Holy Land*
 in their distressed condition, and thinking a peace between the two crowns absolutely
 necessary for that end, readily complied with his request: and sent cardinal *Peter*
 of *Capua* into *France*, to act the part of a mediator.

THIS legate's coming and business were not agreeable to *Richard*; who was A. D. 1199.
 angry at the *Pope* for not having either obliged the king of *France* to restore the
 places he had seized during the *Croisade*, or excommunicated him for his refusal; a
 neglect which had put him under a necessity of recovering them by force, and at an
 infinite expence. He complained of this conduct, and expressed an unwillingness to
 enter into a treaty, to which *Philip* perhaps might not be disposed: but *Peter*,
 acquainting him that he was sent at that king's special instance, prevailed at last for
 a conference on the feast of *St. Hilary*. It was held between *Vernon* and *Andely*,
Richard being in a boat on the *Seine*, and the king of *France* on horseback upon the
 bank of the river: but nothing more was done in it, than accepting the *Pope's*
 mediation, and fixing a day for another conference, in the presence of the legate and
 a great number of their prelates and nobility. In this second meeting, as the *Pope*
 had a mighty influence on the affairs of *Germany*, claiming a right of putting the
 golden crown on the *Emperor's* head, and *Richard* had a mind to oblige him, in order
 to engage him to do that office for his nephew *Otho*, he agreed, at the legate's instances,
 to a truce for five years; with a liberty of commerce between their subjects: and
 upon its being signed, the troops on both sides were dismissed to their respective
 quarters. *Marcadée*, in marching to his, being to pass over a slip of the territories
 of *France* that lay in his way, was there attacked on a sudden by four *French* noble-
 men: and several of his *Brabantins* killed. *Richard* too, in confidence of this
 cessation of hostilities, having passed into *Guienne*, the king of *France* seized the
 opportunity of his absence to erect a castle between *Boutavant* and *Gaillon*, and to
 cut down a forest of his, that lay adjoining to this new fortress. The king of
England returning into *Normandie*, demanded satisfaction for these breaches of the
 treaty: and sent his chancellor *Eustace*, bishop of *Ely*, to *Philip*, to declare the
 truce dissolved, unless the new castle was demolished. The king of *France* disavowed,
 that he had any hand in what was done against the *Brabantins*; and by the legate's
 advice promised to demolish the new fort: but this did not satisfy *Richard*; who
 insisted that there should be no peace unless all matters between them were fully

¹ *M. Paris. Hoveden, p. 790. Knighton, col. 2413.*

RICHARD I. settled. This gave occasion for more conferences, and a plan of peace, by which the king of *England* was to give his niece *Blanche* of *Castille* to *Philip's* eldest son *Louis*, with *Gisors*, and twenty thousand marks of silver for her portion; all the other places taken from *Richard* were to be restored; and to indemnify him in respect of *Gisors*, the king of *France* was to convey to him the right of nomination to the archbishoprick of *Tours*; a right, which, in the case of *Bourges* and other sees, had been frequently reserved by the ancient kings of *France*, when they granted away fiefs to dukes and counts, and was then very considerable, though now reduced to little more than the confirmation of the persons elected by chapters. The king of *France* was likewise to swear, that he would, to the utmost of his power, assist *Otho* in getting entire possession of the empire of *Germany*; an article that clashed with the treaty he had lately made with *Philip* duke of *Suabia*: but he gave himself little pain about the observing of conventions, when a breach thereof served either his interests or convenience. Such were the articles of this plan; the execution whereof in form was deferred, till *Richard's* return from a voyage he was making into *Guienne*.

Richard's
death and
character.

LXV. FRANCE had always found its advantage in the dissensions of the royal family of *England*: and in one of the late conferences, *Philip*, to sow discord between the king and his brother, told *Richard*, that *John* had given himself to him; and produced a paper to that effect; probably some old letter in the time of his defection during his brother's captivity. *Richard* provoked, hasty in his measures, and not examining into the matter, seized all his brother's lands; who surprized at this act of resentment, and enquiring into the cause, was acquainted with the accusation; and agreeable to the custom of the times, sent two knights to the court of *France*, to defend his innocence, in whatever manner the king's court should think proper. Neither *Philip*, nor any about him, would undertake either the proof or defence of the accusation. *Richard*, fully convinced of the falshood of the suggestion, never gave any credit afterwards to the king of *France's* assurances; and was kinder than ever to his brother *John*; of whom he had no good opinion before; as appears from his telling him, upon his submission, after he had joined with *Philip*, that he wished he might as easily forget his offence, as he doubted *John* would his pardon.

A PEASANT, ploughing a field near *Limoges*, had discovered a treasure, or turned up with his plough, some pieces of antiquity; the chief of which was a piece of gold very large and heavy, with the figures of an emperor, his wife and children sitting at table. *Aymar*, viscount of that place, and lord of the soil, got possession of this treasure: and refused to deliver it to the king of *England*; who claimed it as lord paramount; and drawing his forces together, invested the castle of *Chalus*, where he imagined it was lodged. *Richard*, armed only with a cuirass on his breast, going on the fourth day of the siege with *Marcadée*, about the place to observe where the assault might best be made, was on *March* 28, wounded in the left shoulder, by an arrow shot from a cross-bow; an instrument of war, which he had either brought into use, or had invented himself. Notwithstanding this wound, he mounted on horseback: and rode to his quarters, leaving orders for the attack of the place, which he considered as no longer tenable. *Marcadée's* surgeon, too little skilled in his profession, trying to pull out the arrow, left the head of it in the flesh: and in getting it out afterwards, mangled the part so much, that it turned to a gangrene. When the king found there were no more hopes of his recovery, he is said to have made a will; bequeathing the kingdom of *England*, and all his other dominions, with three fourth's of his treasure, to his brother *John*: and making all

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 791. *Brompton*, col. 1277. *Chron. J. Abbot Petriburg.*

his attendants swear fealty to him, gave orders that possession should be delivered him of all his castles. The other fourth part of his treasure, he divided between his servants and the poor: and left all his jewels to his nephew *Otho* king of *Germany*. The castle of *Chalus* being taken before his death, he pardoned *Bertram de Gourdon*, the man that had given him the fatal wound; and ordered him to be set at liberty, and a sum of money given him, to retire wherever he pleased: but *Marcadée* detaining him unknown to the king, caused him to be hanged alive and hanged, as soon as he expired. *Richard* died on *April 6*, the *Tuesday* before *Palm Sunday*, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth of his reign; leaving no legitimate issue, and only one natural son, named *Philip*, to whom he had given the castle and honour of *Cognac* in *Guienne*, and who revenged his death, by killing the viscount of *Limoges*, who had been taken in the castle of *Chalus*. It was pursuant to the king's own orders, that his bowels were interred in the abbey of *S. Sauveur de Charroux* in *Poitou*, his heart, which was surprizingly large, in the cathedral of *Roüen* (where it was first put in a silver shrine or box, but afterwards in one of stone, when the other was sold for the ransom of *S. Louis*) and his body in the church of *Fontevrault*, at the feet of his father.

RICHARD ² is, by writers that knew his person, said to have been tall and strongly made; his limbs streight and well proportioned; his armes long; his eyes blew and sparkling; his hair yellowish; his visage fair and comely; his air and mien graceful, noble, majestick, and worthy of empire. He had a very good understanding, great penetration, a clear head, and sound judgment, as appeared in his conduct, when the hastiness and impetuosity of his temper allowed time for reflection: he had a natural eloquence that was very moving, and in so eminent a degree, that *Vinesauf* equals him to *Ulysses* in eloquence, and to *Nestor* in prudence. It is in difficulties, that people's talents are best discovered: and certainly during *Richard's* captivity upon many trying occasions, in harangues before diets of the empire, in his defences against accusations, in his negotiations with the princes, and in all his behaviour, he distinguished himself in both those respects to the admiration of all *Germany*. He had a great deal of ready wit, and was very quick at a repartee: and though he was naturally grave and serious, and carried in publick an air of reserve and moroseness, yet in private, he was affable and pleasant in conversation, loved to give a loose to good humour, and a free liberty to jests and raillery. The haughtiness of his mind, and the cholerickness of his nature, rendered him obstinate in pursuing what he undertook, incapable of bending on any occasion, and impatient of injuries, even of the least and slightest offences in the case of sudden accidents; and disposed him to revenge, till the offender lay at his mercy, and by that circumstance, became a fit object for his good nature and clemency. Hence arose the roughness complained of in his manners, a too great fondness for his own humours, a violence in carrying his point, and a severity that might pass for cruelty in some instances of persons that opposed his will; which seem to have been the most remarkable of his defects; except his inordinate passion for the fair sex in general, to which he gave up himself, till about four years before his death; when being reclaimed by the remonstrances of an hermit, and his own reflections in a severe fit of sickness, he took his wife *Berengaria* again to his bed, and kept constant to her ever after. He was of a frank, open, and generous disposition; incapable of deceiving any body; true to his word; faithful to his promises; and in all respects a man of strict honour and great probity: an instance whereof we see in his restoring to parish churches the silver chalices, which had been sold towards raising his ransom; notwithstanding the expensive

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 796. This circumstance shews, that *Richard* gave no orders for putting the garrison to the sword, since the viscount was not put to

death, till after his decease.

² *Vinesauf*, l. ii. c. 5. *Topogr. Hibern. Dist.* iii. c. 50. *Hoveden*, *ib.*

RICHARD I. wars, wherein he was necessarily engaged, put him in distress for money¹. He was remarkable in his early years, when he first took upon him the government of *Gallie*, for his love of good order, and continual attention to secure the peace of the province: and *Giraldus Cambrensis* celebrates the equity of his administration, the constant regard he shewed to virtue and merit, which he never failed to encourage and promote; the impartiality of his justice; and the rigour he exercised in punishing and suppressing malefactors. He is charged by some, with being covetous and rapacious, because he was not scrupulous about the ways of getting money: yet it must be owned that his occasions for it were very urgent; that when he had it, he was liberal to excess; that no prince ever distinguished himself by more and greater acts of bounty and magnificence, properly bestowed upon brave men in distress, and for the publick service, in which he did not hesitate in giving up an empire; and that in his greatest necessities, he never had recourse to the method, ordinarily used by most of his predecessors to raise money, by keeping bishopricks and abbeyes vacant. Acts of beneficence were so agreeable to his nature, and so familiar to him in practice, that he is on that account compared to the emperor *Titus*. The appearances of his goût for money seem evidently the result of meer necessity, arising from the vast expences as well of the holy war, in which his piety and zeal for *Christianity* engaged him, as of others, in which he was by the consequences thereof involved: and the charge of avarice, would in probability never have been advanced against him, if the religious houses, more zealous to preach up *Croisades*, than to contribute to the necessary charges thereof, had not been taxed to defray their expences.

He is taxed with ambition by the *French* writers, but very unjustly: for he never desired any thing but his own; and his wars against *France* were not to make new conquests for himself, but to recover his rights; which had been scandalously and treacherously usurped during his captivity, and the leaving of which in the hands of the invader, he thought dishonourable, unworthy of his magnanimity, and inconsistent with his glory. The love of glory was certainly one of his strongest passions, and a main principle in all his actions: and he fought it in the noblest manner, in ways which the religion of the age authorized, and in which it was found by the greatest heroes of antiquity; nor was he inferior to any of them in courage, valour, and intrepidity. Few mortals have ever undergone greater trials, and none ever gave more illustrious proofs of those shining qualities, than this prince did in the sudden turns and various circumstances of his affairs: his firmness in adversity was admirable; captivity served only to exercise his fortitude, without lessening his dignity; which he knew how to preserve under all disasters. Persevering in his enterprizes under difficulties, which to an ordinary courage would have appeared unsurmountable; undaunted in the midst of a thousand dangers, which might well have shocked the hardiest warrior, he well deserved the glorious appellation of an hero; looking out steadily for the first point of possibility, and not only capable of attempting, but even of succeeding in it; as appeared remarkably in the relief of *Joppa*. No age or history hath ever afforded an instance of an attempt so daring, and where there was so little likelihood of success: yet he ventured with an handful of men to attack the great *Saladine*, at the head of an infinite number of experienced warriors; and carried his point by his personal bravery, the irresistible force of his arm, the wonderful spirit that gave him vigour to go through fatigues, which cool reason would think impossible for any human force to support, and the powerful effects of his name, at once the terror and admiration of his enemies. There is something of a romantick taste in the generous present, which, in the midst of the dangers and glories of that day, *Saladine*,

¹ *Trivet. A. D. 1194.*

amazed at his valour and great actions, made him of two fine *Arabian* horses, for RICHARD I. A. D. 1199. which he nobly rewarded the messenger: all the East rang with his fame (wherein his country found at the same time her glory) and long retained the memory of his exploits; the *Sarazens*¹ for some ages stilling their children's cries with the name of *Richard*. He seems to have had a great genius and abilities, as well as inclinations, for war: and these being cultivated and improved by experience, rendered him superior to all the princes of his age, in all points of military skill; as well in the disposition of an army in a day of battle, as in the besieging of towns, the business of an engineer, and the art of fortification; of which he left a noble specimen in the fortrefs of *Chateau-Gailliard*.

He deviated in one thing from most of his predecessors; it being observed of him, that he loved his countrymen: and yet his people are supposed to have suffered much under him, either through his absence, which exposed them to the oppressions of justiciaries (though the great encomiums given to archbishop *Hubert's* administration flatly contradict that notion) or through the burden of taxes they were obliged to pay, either towards the expence of his wars, or to discharge his ransome. But these were not so heavy as is generally imagined: and what was raised on the last account (except the scutage, which was a known condition of a military tenure in such case, and was very moderate, being only twenty shillings a knight's fee) was a voluntary contribution advanced by some of the clergy (for many refused it) and by the laity in general, to procure their prince's liberty. The zeal indeed of people in this respect seems to have been much abused, by the collectors sinking a great deal of the money², and by *John* count of *Mortain's* seizing all he could get into his hands; which gave occasion to fresh contributions: but this was the king's misfortune, and ought not to be charged as a fault upon a person that was unable to help it, being in captivity. Besides that scutage, and one of ten shillings a knight's fee for a *Welsh* expedition, there were only three others paid in his reign for the wars in *Normandie*; all at the rate of twenty shillings a knight's fee, as appears from the *Pipe-rolls*; though ³*Hoveden* speaks of the first of them as only a third part of the service, with which each fee was chargeable. ⁴ The same historian mentions only two talliages, one of two shillings an hide, laid in the fifth year of this king; the other in the ninth, first assessed at the same rate, but afterwards enhanced by the charge of three shillings an hide more, probably on occasion of the *Welsh* expedition, and the great expence *Richard* was at in getting his nephew to be chosen emperor. These were accounted for by the sheriffs, in the four last years of this king, according to the *Pipe-rolls*; which take no notice of any other kind of taxes: and their silence is a confirmation of what hath been already observed from the circumstances of the relation, that the large sums, remitted by *Hubert* in the first two years of his being guardian of the realm, arose only from the ordinary revenue of the crown, and were specified by him purely to brag of his management, and get himself continued in the government. *Richard's* wars, qualified as he was to make a glaring figure therein, were not of his own seeking; he was drawn into the *Croisade* by the irresistible humour and frantick zeal of the age; the rest were just and unavoidable: and whatever money was raised, either out of his own patrimony, or the purses of his subjects, to support them, was employed to the honour of the nation; which certainly was less burdened with taxes in his, than in any other reign, of her warlike princes. Had he lived longer, *Philip* of *France* would scarce have gained the title of *August*, which *Rigord* first gave him on account of his *augmenting* his territories by conquests: nor would this kingdom have had reason to lament such disgraces, or to complain of such oppressions, as she suffered in the reign of his successor.

¹ See *Joinville* and *Bernard Thesaur. de Acquis Terre St. inter Hist. Ital.* t. i. p. 812. ² *Rymer*, i. 81. p. 737. ³ *Ib.* and p. 778.

J O H N.

JOHN.
A. D. 1199.
John's first
acts of govern-
ment and co-
ronation.

LXV. **R**ICHARD dying without issue, the crown descended to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*¹, son of *Geffrey*, the next brother to the late king, and elder than *John* count of *Mortain*: the young prince had accordingly been declared by his uncle, on *Nov. 11*, *A. D. 1190*, at *Messina*, the heir of all his dominions. This right of inheritance had been the ground of a solemn treaty and a contract of marriage; which *Richard* made for him with the daughter of *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, and received on his behalf the portion of the young princess; it had been notified in form to the *Pope*, who, as the treaty and contract had been ratified upon oath, was desired on that account to see them duely executed: and all the prelates and nobility attending the king in his expedition to the *Holy Land*, had recognized *Arthur's* right, and swore to his succession. This was agreeable to *Richard's* justice: and he was too firm in what he had once resolved, or was obliged in honour to perform, and too steady in his measures, to alter them lightly: nor was any distaste he might have taken at *Constance* of *Bretagne*, three years before his death, a competent reason for withdrawing his kindness from his nephew and doing him a manifest injustice, only because he was her son; especially since that quarrel had been made up with the mother, and she had for two years followed the king's advice in all her son's affairs, and the *Bretons* had assisted him in his wars against *Philip*. Had the queen mother *Eleanor*, who was too fond of power to bear the thoughts of *Constance's* having a greater sway in the government than herself, been with *Richard* at his death, it is hard to say how far her influence might have extended: but there is not the least room to surmise that she was present; and if the king is said to have been tenacious in remembering injuries, *John* had merited his resentment infinitely more, than a child, incapable of giving him any offence. I am apt therefore to think, that *Richard* made no such disposition of his dominions to *John*, as was pretended by some of the latter's partizans, for the same reason as moved the usurper *Stephen* to get *Hugh Bigot* to swear that *Henry I* had made a like disposition in his favour; and that *Hoveden*, the only cotemporary author that mentions *Richard's* making a will, and from whom later writers copy what they say of it, took his account thereof only from the confident assertions of those interested persons, to whom the pretence was of use to gloss over their conduct. It is very clear from all circumstances that *Richard* left no will in writing; the pretended disposition is too general for such a will; there are no particular legacies to monasteries and churches, as usual in those times; if there had been one, it was of too much service to *John's* cause, not to be produced: and as for a nuncupative will in the disposal of kingdoms, it is to be considered in no other light, than as what the persons about a dying prince find agreeable to their interest to represent. The circumstances of *John's* getting possession of his brother's territories confirm me in this notion: and *John* abbot² of *Peterborough*, deriving his account from two cotemporary writers; *Milo* abbot of *Le Pin* in *Poitou*, and *Anselm*, the one almoner to *Richard*, the other his chaplain, and constant companion every where, both at home and abroad, who both wrote the actions of that prince, takes no notice at all of any such disposition, but says, that *John* came to succeed his brother, purely by the power of his own faction.

¹ *Annal. Margan. Chron. T. Wikes. p. 35, 36. Hemingford, l. ii. c. 94. Petriburg. an. 1189. p. 90.*

² *Chron. J. Alb.*

IT was *Arthur's* misfortune to be but twelve years and eight days old, at the time of *Richard's* decease; unfit at that age, though a boy of spirit, to contend of himself for a crown with an uncle, who had been for some years forming a party to defeat him of his right of succession: and without a friend of eminent dignity, capacity, and virtue, such as *Maude* the empress found in *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, to support his interest. He was under the management of a mother, neither beloved nor esteemed, of strong passions, weak judgment, and very imprudent conduct; suspected of too much familiarity with *John*, who haunted her so continually, that her husband, *Ralf* earl of *Chester*, was now getting divorced from her on that account; and she married immediately *Guy*, a younger brother of the vicomte de *Thouars*. *John* had every thing for him, vigour of age, abilities to transact for himself; a party already formed, acquaintance with every body in power under his late brother; the general disposition of mankind², averse to run any hazard of losing what they may enjoy in safety: and being near at hand when *Richard* died, gained easily by his great promises all that were about him; confirming them in their offices and commands. The first step of all that had usurped the crown before him, was to seize all the treasures of the deceased king: *John* following their example, hastened to *Chinon*³, where *Robert de Turnham* delivered up his brother's treasure, with the castle of that place, and all other fortresses in his custody. *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury* and *William Marechal*, the two persons who had most of the late king's confidence, and were entrusted with the greatest powers, being then in *Normandie* and entirely in his interest, he dispatched them over into *England*, to take measures, in conjunction with *Geffrey Fitz Piers* the chief justiciary, and others of his friends among the nobility, for securing him the possession of that kingdom; whilst he staid abroad, to take care of his foreign affairs, which more immediately required his presence. There was but little danger of his nephew's forming a party in *England*, a country where he was scarce known to any body: whereas *Thomas de Furnes* had actually delivered to him the town and castle of *Angers*, of which he was governor. It was a still more alarming consideration, that this had been done in conformity to the resolution of a general assembly of the estates of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*; declaring it to be the custom and constitution of those countries, for the son of the elder brother to succeed to them, as his patrimonial right, and that *Arthur* ought to possess the inheritance, which his father *Geffrey* should have enjoyed, had he outlived *Richard*. All the prelates and nobility of those provinces accordingly acknowledged and adhered to *Arthur* for their liege lord: and put him in possession thereof. *Constance* too had brought her son to *Tours*, and there delivered him to *Philip* king of *France*; who, as soon as he heard of *Richard's* death, had, without any regard to the five years truce⁴, fallen into *Normandie*, taken *Evreux*, subdued all the county, and wasted the country from thence, as far as *Le Mans*. *Philip* knew how to make his advantage of the young prince: and sending him to be educated with his son *Louis* at *Paris*, seized all his towns and castles; putting in his own governors and castellans.

JOHN, in the mean time, advanced to *Le Mans*, took the town and castle, pulled down the walls of both, and all the stone houses within the place; and carried away many of the inhabitants prisoners; because they had received *Arthur* for their lord: hoping perhaps by this severity to the citizens to deter others from following their example; though it is not easy to conceive, what he meant by dismantling one of the best frontier towns of his dominions. He passed from thence to *Beaufort en Vallée*: and returning to *Roien*, was, on the first Sunday after *Easter*, April 25, girt with the sword, and invested with the ducal coronet of *Normandie*, by the

¹ Leland's Collect. vol. i. p. 769.

² M. Paris.

³ Hoveden, p. 792.

⁴ Trivet.

archbishop

JOHN. archbishop of that city; who administered to him the usual oath on that occasion, the same that hath been already mentioned, as taken by *William the Conqueror*. In the mean time archbishop *Hubert*, *W. Mareſchal*, and *Geffrey Fitz Piers*¹ the chief juſticiary, had required the citizens and burgeſſes of towns, and generally all the military tenants of the crown throughout *England* to ſwear fealty to *John* againſt all men: yet this did not hinder the biſhops, earls, and barons, who had caſtles of their own, from furniſhing them with men, armes, and proviſions, as if they intended to ſtand on their defence. This was probably owing to their having been concerned, a little before the late king's return from his captivity, in paſſing the ſentence for diſſeizing *John* of all his lands throughout *England*, and in reducing his caſtles; a circumſtance which, had *Arthur* been of age to diſpute the crown, would have been highly to his advantage. It was neceſſary to remove their jealousies and apprehenſions of *John's* reſentment: and his agents with that view ſummoned the chief of thoſe, whom they moſt ſuſpected, to meet them at *Northampton*. Theſe were *David*², *Ralf*, and *William*, earls of *Huntingdon*, *Cheſter*, and *Ferrers*, who had at that time beſieged his caſtle of *Notingham*: *Richard* and *Walleran*, earls of *Clare* and *Warwick*, *Roger de Lacy* conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *William de Mowbray*. Several other earls and barons, alike obnoxious, were convened at the ſame time: and *Hubert*, with his colleagues, gave them ſuch aſſurances on *John's* part, and fed them with ſuch hopes of his juſtice and munificence (to which the grants of manors, wardſhips, and beneficial offices procured credit) that they were all gained over to his intereſts, and took the oath of fealty, upon the conditions for which they had ſtipulated. They prevailed likewiſe with *David* earl of *Huntingdon* to go to his brother *William* king of *Scotland*, to make him eaſy with regard to their ſtopping the envoys he had ſent to *John*, with a demand of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, before he would ſwear fealty, and to engage him to wait *John's* arrival in *England*; who would then ſatisfy him in all his requeſts, if he created no diſturbances in the mean time, as he had ſent him word by *Eufſace de Veſcy*. Such are the methods, by which uſurpers generally gain their ends; and the vaffals of a crown find their advantage in contributing to their elevation.

THE way being thus prepared for *John's* quiet acceſſion to the throne, he came over with a large army, for fear of oppoſition, to *England*; landing on *Tueſday*, *March* 25, at *Shoreham*: and getting the next day to *Weſtminſter*³, was there crowned on *Thursday* the 27th of that month, being *Ascenſion day*, by *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *M. Paris* repreſents this prelate as preaching a ſermon, or making an harangue on the occaſion; and, out of a foreſight of *John's* ill government, putting him in mind of his obligations to the prelates and nobility, to whoſe favour he owed the crown: but as neither *Hoveden*, who was probably preſent at the ceremony, nor any other ancient writer, make the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing, it ſeems to have been *Matthew's* own compoſition; according to the ordinary practice of hiſtorians, who invent ſuch ſpeeches for perſons on all remarkable occaſions. The ſame author mentions likewiſe an adjuration (taken out of the *Ordinal of prieſts*, charging them not to take upon them the ſacerdotal office, unleſs they reſolved to fulfil the duties of it) as applied by *Hubert* to the regal, and uſed to *John*: but of this there is not the leaſt notice taken by any other hiſtorian; and though archbiſhops, aſſuming to themſelves extravagant powers on account of their anointing princes, have been impertinent enough in ſome conjunctures to add their own conceptions and impoſitions to eſtabliſhed forms, I ſee no reaſon to think any thing of that nature was done at *John's* coronation. It was a rite of the utmoſt conſequence to an uſurper, who ſtood in need of being hallowed in the eyes of the people by the ſacred unction; it behoved him to adhere religiously to the ancient form, from which there could

¹ *Ib.* p. 793. ² *Ib.* p. 775. ³ *Hoveden. Annal. Burton.*

be no deviation, but by a publick authority, the exercise whereof (had there been time for it in the hurry which *John* was in to be crowned) would in that case have been very impolitick. *M. Paris* might possibly fancy such an adjuration to be proper for the occasion, and put it upon *Hubert*, in order by that means to introduce his own notion: but there certainly never was, either before or after, any such form in the *English* coronation-office. If any alteration had been made in it answerable to *Hubert's* purpose, it should naturally have been made in the terms of the coronation oath: but it is certain there was no deviation in that point from the ancient form of the oath or promise of our kings, used from the time of the *Great Alfred*. *John* swore only to the three usual articles thereof, as well in this his first, as in his second coronation: these were “to maintain the peace of the church and people, to restrain all orders of men from committing rapine, and other iniquities, and to observe equity and mercy in all his judgments.” It may be proper however here to take notice of an alteration occasioned, as *Mr. Prynne* observes in his discourse of coronations, by a transaction in *A. D.* 1214, when *John* was to be absolved by the Pope's legate. *Stephen Langton* would not suffer the excommunication to be taken off; before *John* had sworn, “that he would grant, keep, and confirm to the people of *England*, the laws and customs granted them by the ancient kings of *England*, his upright and devout predecessors, and particularly the laws, customs, and privileges, granted to the clergy and people by the glorious king *S. Edward* his predecessor;” which that prince accordingly granted and promised. As *Langton* put this new article, by way of question, to *John*, who answered in the affirmative, it was afterwards introduced into the coronation service in the very same individual terms¹, word for word, as it was then proposed and answered.

WHATEVER *Hubert's* sentiments were, *John* in a charter, which he granted soon after his coronation, for moderating the fees of the great seal (a matter of consequence in those days, when publick bodies and private persons were careful in every reign to get confirmations of grants that had passed in the time of the king's predecessors, and were sometimes obliged to do so in the same reign, as in the seventh and tenth of *Richard*) took care to found his claim of the crown upon hereditary right; not indeed according to the feudal law, and the constitution of this realm, nor as testamentary heir to his brother's disposition, but agreeable to the *Roman* or civil law, in the case (not of kingdoms which descend by different rules of succession, but) of private inheritances; by which two brothers were deemed to be nearer in blood to one another, by one degree, than a nephew. He took care likewise to reward the services of his friends; giving on the day of his coronation the post of chancellor to archbishop *Hubert*, and advancing *William Marechal* and *Geffrey Fitz Piers* to the dignity of earls; the first being girt with the sword of the county of *Pembroke*, the latter with that of *Essex*. About a fortnight after, on June 7, ² *William de Ferrers* (whose ancestors grant of the same honour from *Stephen* had been deemed invalid) was created earl of *Derby*, and had a grant of the third penny of the pleas of the county-court; besides another³ still more beneficial grant of the manors of *Wirksworth* and *Ashburne* with its whole wapentac, in *Derbyshire*, *Higham Ferrers* with its park and hundred, *Bliseworth*, *Newbotle*, and other manors in *Northamptonshire*. *Roger de Lacy* got the castle and honour of *Pontefract*: and in the like manner were others gratified. *John* did not so easily comply with the king of *Scotland's* demand of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*; putting off his en-

¹ *Langton's* words were, Sire, volez vous garantir & garder, & per vostre serment confirmer au peuple d'Engleterre les leys & les custumes à eux grantees par les anciens roys d'Engleterre droietures & devoiz à Dieu, & nommement les leys, & les custumes, & les franchises grauntez au clergé & au

peuple par le glorieux roy S. Edouard vostre predecesseur. Resp. J'eo les graunte & promette.

² *Cart. Antiq.* B. n. 20.

³ *Ib.* B. B. n. 1. Oblata 1 *Job.* m. 23. *Rot. Pip.* 1 *Job.* Oblat. 1 *Job.* m. 16.

JOHN. voys with a general promise of doing (if that prince would come to him) what was just and reasonable as to that, and all his other demands. To facilitate this meeting, he went to keep *Whitsontide* at *Nottingham*¹, and sent the bishop of *Durham* to escorte *William* from *Berwick* thither: but the *Scotch* king, knowing the precarious state of an usurper's government, was resolved to get something from him, as he saw others had done; and not caring to trust to the justice of his demand, imagined he could extort it by terror. Two men of quality had been sent for him: but instead of coming with them, he signified to them, that if *John* did not comply with his demand, he would try to obtain it by force, and would wait only forty days for his answer; a menace, which occasioned the two counties in question, with their castles, to be put into the hands of *William d'Esclutecville*, a great baron of the north, as the fittest person to be charged with their defence.

John makes peace with France, and marries Isabel d'Engoulême.

LXVII. JOHN having thus settled his affairs in *England*, went over into *Normandie*; landing at *Dieppe* on Sunday, May 18; and assembled an army at *Roüen* to oppose the attempts of *France*: but dismissed it soon, making a truce with *Philip* till August 16, when a conference was to be held for adjusting all their differences. *John* as yet enjoyed the benefit of the alliances², which the late king had formed, having engaged no less than fifteen counts or great noblemen of *France* in his interests; besides *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*: who came to *Roüen*, on the Friday before the day appointed for the conference, to renew his alliance, and to do homage for his pension; which having been first granted on that account by *Richard*, was now continued by his successor. The other *French* noblemen came about the same to *Roüen* for the like purpose, doing homage to *John* for their pensions, and swearing never to make any accommodation with *Philip* without his consent; a stipulation which obliged him in return to take a like oath, that he would make no peace with *France*, unless they were included in the treaty. Queen *Eleanor* had, immediately after her son *Richard's* death, waited upon the king of *France* at *Tours*, and done homage for her dutchy of *Guienne*, into the possession of which she re-entered upon that occasion: but *John* had got *Normandie* into his hands, without any application to him, or so much as offering to perform that duty of a vassal. This *Philip* is said to have resented so highly, as not to behave himself with his usual politeness towards *John*, when they met near *Gaillon* to hold their conference: and this rudeness was accompanied with demands too unreasonable to be granted. He insisted⁴ upon a cession of all the *Vexin Normand*, between the forest of *Lions*, and the rivers *Seine*, *Andele*, and *Epte* to himself, and of *Guienne*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Le Maine* for the use of prince *Arthur*; besides some other conditions which *John* absolutely rejected. He was encouraged to this step, as well by the confidence he had in the assistance of his allies among the *French* nobility, as by the letters of his nephew *Otho*; desiring him not to be in haste to make a peace with *France*, and assuring him, that as his own affairs were taking a good turn, he should be able soon to assist him with all the power of the empire.

JOHN laid too much stress upon the alliances of persons, no farther to be depended on, than he fed them with money: and lost the most favourable opportunity he could have of settling a firm peace with *Philip*; if any such could have been made with a prince, who never observed a treaty any longer than it suited his interest or convenience. The king of *France* had lately gained some advantages over the troops of the count of *Flanders*; having, in an action near *Lens*, taken his brother *Philip* count of *Namur*, with *Peter de Douay*, one of his best officers: and *Peter de Corbeil*, bishop elect of *Cambray*, was made prisoner in another rencounter. This

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 794.
p. 795.

² *Rob. de Monte*, i. 114.

³ *Rigord. De gest. Philip. August.*

⁴ *Hoveden*,

last had been preceptor to Pope *Innocent*; who insisted on his release: but as he had not interposed in the behalf of the bishop of *Beauvais*, *Philip* refused his request, and reproached him with the inequality of his conduct. *Peter* of *Capua*, the Pope's legate, put *France*, and, to shew his impartiality, *Normandie*, under an interdict, till both the prelates were set at liberty. The bishop of *Beauvais* having paid two thousand marks for his maintenance during his captivity, and taken an oath never more to bear arms against *Christians*, was exchanged for the elect of *Cambray*: and then the interdict was removed. The king of *France* however was every moment in danger of having his realm laid under another, and of being excommunicated himself, on account of his divorce from the princess of *Denmark*, which had been declared null, and of his marriage with *Marie*, daughter of *Bertold IV*, duke of *Meranie*, whom the Pope ordered him to quit (though she had brought him a daughter, and was pregnant of a son named *Philip*, who were afterwards declared legitimate) and to take again his former wife *Ingelburge*. *Philip*, averse to both these parties, did all that was possible to keep off the censures threatened upon his disobedience: but there was no trifling with a man of *Innocent's* vigour and resolution. A council was called this year at *Dijon* in order to issue them: but the prelates assembled being in that place too much in the power of the king of *France*, another was summoned to meet at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, a city out of that king's territories, in the beginning of *December*; where it was resolved to lay all *France* under an interdict. This however was not published till a little after *Christmas*: and *Philip* exerted all his authority to prevent its being observed, treating all that obeyed it with great severity, seizing the temporalities of bishops and capitular bodies, quartering soldiers on the parish clergy, and laying heavy taxes on the laity, not only the peasants, but also the gentry, who had never been taxed before. All proved in vain: and the interdict continued about eight months, till *September 7*, in the year following; when *Philip* coming with *Ingelburge* into the council held at *Nesle*, by the cardinals of *Ostia* and *S. Paul*, delegated particularly by the Pope for determining this affair, declared he had taken her again for his wife, and renounced his latter marriage; thus putting an end to the interdict, and preventing a papal sentence, derogatory to his dignity.

JOHN had none of his late brother's talents for war or negotiation: and made no advantage either of this situation of the king of *France's* affairs, or of some opportunities offered him of settling his own upon a firm foundation. The conference ending without any effect, *Philip* entered *Normandie* with an army, and made himself master of *Conches*; from thence he marched into *Le Maine*, and in the month of *October* took *Ballon*, one of the strongest and most considerable fortresses of the country. As it was the best part of the barrier against *France* on that side, it was, probably for that reason, demolished as soon as taken: and when *William de Roches*, hereditary senechal of *Le Maine*, and general of *Arthur's* forces, complained of this act, as prejudicial to his lord, and contrary to the stipulations between him and the king of *France*, the latter told him plainly, that he would do what he pleased with the places he took, without any regard to his master *Arthur*, and immediately marched to besiege *Lavardin*. *William* expecting that this frontier town, seated on the *Loir*, would be treated in the same manner; and seeing that *Philip* minded nothing but his own interests, thought it might be most for his master's service, to make an accommodation between him and his uncle. The overtures he made were very acceptable to *John*, and encouraged him to advance to the relief of *Lavardin* with such a force, that the king of *France* thought fit to raise the siege, and quit the country of *Le Maine*. *William*, in the mean time, had, by an ingenious artifice, got *Arthur* conveyed from *Paris* to *Le Mans*, of which he was governor: and in concert with the young prince's mother *Constance*, delivered up the place to *John*; pursuant to their agreement; which seems to be very ill observed by the latter;

! *Rigord.*

though

JOHN. though if ever usurpers could be engaged to keep good faith in any case, it might be expected in conventions so infinitely to their advantage. The first step which *A. D. 1199.* *John* took after he had by the treaty got *Le Mans*, with *Arthur*, and *Constance* in his power, was to send for *Aimery* viscount of *Thouars*, governor of *Chinon*; and to force him, as well to deliver up that castle (which he committed immediately to *Roger*, constable of *Chester*, till he could provide another castellan) as to resign his post of seneschal of *Anjou*. A proceeding, so contrary to the spirit and terms of the late accommodation, could not but alarm *Arthur's* friends, and prepare them to expect measures still more unjust from *John's* perfidiousness. They had accordingly the very same day intelligence, that he had resolved to seize the young prince's person: and there being no other way to avoid that calamity, *Arthur*, with his mother, the viscount of *Thouars*, and abundance of others, getting off the same night from *Le Mans*, retired to *Angers*; where *Constance* was married to *Guy*, the viscount's brother.

IN the mean time cardinal *Peter* of *Capua*, the legate who had been employed by the Pope to mediate for him in the treaty for the five years truce¹, which was now broken, used his utmost endeavours to bring about a peace between *France* and *England*: and in order to it, procured a cessation of armes, till the feast of *S. Hilary*, in the beginning of the year following. This interval of war was well employed by the king of *France*; who had at *Christmas*² a conference with *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, at *Peronne*, to conclude a treaty; which had been carried on by the countess at *Paris*, and which, by her address, ended at last in a perfect reconciliation between those princes. *Baldwin* was intent upon an expedition to the *Holy Land* (in which he came soon after to be emperor of *Constantinople*) but could not undertake it, till he had made peace with *France*: and to obtain it, the countess, who was *Philip's* niece, prevailed with him to give up all *Artois*, except *S. Omer*, *Aire*, and a few other places. The country thus yielded to *Philip*, was immediately erected by him into a county in favour of his eldest son *Louis*; but upon the express condition, that if this prince had no issue male, it should revert to the count of *Flanders*; whose brother *Philip*, count of *Namur*, was included in the treaty. This was a terrible blow to *John*, as depriving him not only of two powerful allies, but setting an example of defection to the other vassals of the crown of *France*; who had as yet adhered to him: but now seeing their union broke, and despairing of success, were glad to make their accommodation with *Philip*.

A. D. 1200. THIS event, the advice of his mother *Eleanor*³, and the terror he had of *Arthur*, whose right to the crown gave him a continual uneasiness, made *John* resolve at any rate to clap up a peace with the king of *France*; who knowing the interdict upon his realm was to be published in a day or two, thought it full as convenient for his own affairs; especially when he could make an advantageous one, by giving up that young prince's interest. With these dispositions, so favourable to an agreement, *Philip* and *John*, as soon as the *Christmas* holidays were over, met between *Gaillon* and *Andely*: and in a conference, settled the articles of a peace; which being fortified by an alliance, seemed calculated for a considerable duration. *John* was to give his niece *Blanche*, daughter of *Alphonso VIII*, king of *Castille*, in marriage to prince *Louis* of *France*: and the queen mother, old as she was, offered, in her zeal for a peace, to go in that severe season of the year into *Spain*, and to fetch her grand-daughter from thence before *May 22*, the time fixed for ratifying the treaty. By other articles, it was provided, "that *Evreux*, with the county belonging to it, "should be given up to *France*, and the boundaries between that realm and " *Normandie* be fixed between that city and *Neubourg*; that no new forts should "be erected, nor any place fortified between those two towns, and that the fortifi-

¹ *Rigord*, p. 796.² *Chartulaire de Phil. Aug.*³ *Hoveden*, p. 799, 814. *Rymur*, i. 117.

" cations

“ cations of *Portes* and *Landes* should be demolished; that the king of *France* JOHN.
 “ should have no place fortified beyond *Gamaches*, or the forest of *Vernon*, nor the A. D. 1200.
 “ king of *Englana* beyond that of *Andely*; that this last should give prince *Louis*, in
 “ marriage with his niece *Blanche* of *Castille*, *Yffoudun*, *Grassay*, and *Chateauroux*;
 “ and all the fiefs he claimed in *Berry*, which were to be put immediately into the
 “ possession of the king of *France*; who was to enjoy them for life, whether the
 “ marriage took effect or no; but in case *Louis* should have no child by *Blanche*,
 “ they were to revert again to the king of *England* and his heirs. If *John* died
 “ without lawful issue, the fiefs of *Hugh de Gournay* and the counts of *Aumale* and
 “ *Perche* were to go to *Louis*, and be enjoyed by him on the same tenure, as they
 “ were held by the present possessors: and the king of *England* was to hold of the
 “ crown of *France* all the dominions, which had been held by *Henry II*, or *Richard*,
 “ except the *Vexin Normand*, and the alienations beforementioned. *John* likewise
 “ paid the king of *France* twenty thousand marks sterling for his relief and the
 “ fiefs of *Bretagne*; for which *Arthur* was to do homage to the former, who
 “ engaged not to encroach upon his fiefs or demesnes in that province, without a
 “ judicial sentence in his court. Neither of the contracting parties were to assist
 “ each other's vassals against their respective lord: and the king of *England* entered
 “ into a further engagement, not to give any aid, either of money, knights, or men,
 “ by himself or by any other person, to his nephew *Otho*, without the king of
 “ *France's* consent. The counts of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Engoulesme*, with the
 “ viscount of *Limoges* were included in this treaty; which was guarantied by some
 “ of the most considerable of the *French*, *English*, and *Norman* nobility; who swore
 “ to side against their respective lords, if they violated these conventions.”

SUCH were the conditions of this peace; by which *John* not only renounced all his *French* allies, but gave up his nephew *Otho*, without any equivalent obligation on the part of *France*; and purely to get *Arthur* made his vassal, and *Philip* debarred from giving him any assistance. It seems plainly made at this prince's expence: and *Rigord* adds, that in the contract of marriage, between *Louis* and *Blanche*, *John*¹, in case he died without lawful issue, declared “ *Louis* his heir in all his territories “ on the continent,” a bribe sufficient in all appearance to keep *France* from favouring *Arthur* in any of his just pretensions. *Blanche* being brought by queen *Eleanor* as far as *Fontevrault*, was there committed by her to the care of *Elias* archbishop of *Bourdeaux*; who attended her to *Roüen*, and on *May* 23, the day after the treaty was signed, performed the ceremony of her nuptials with *Louis* at *Portmort* near *Andely* in the territories of *Normandie*; it being impracticable to marry them in *France*, by reason of the interdict. When the solemnity was over, the young princess² was carried thither, in order to be brought up; her husband being but in his thirteenth year, and she still younger: and the same day, *John* having done homage to *Philip* for *Normandie*, *Arthur* was forced to do homage to his uncle for the duchy of *Bretagne*; though being a *minor* (only thirteen years and fifty six days old) and a pupil, under the king of *France*, whose guardianship was still continued, he was by law and reason incapable of doing any act to his own prejudice.

BETWEEN the time of agreeing upon the articles of this treaty and that of its ratification, *John* had passed over into *England*, to raise the money he was to pay to *Philip*: and laid a tax of three shillings a carucate throughout the kingdom; probably by his own authority, since *Geffrey*, archbishop of *York*, would not suffer it to

¹ *Trivet. A. D. 1201. M. Paris.*

² *Trivet. Rob. de Monte.*

³ *Hoveden. p. 699. 811. Chron. Dunstaple.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1200. be levied on his own tenants. He went also in *Lent* as far as *York*, in hopes of meeting the king of *Scotland*, whom he had sent for thither : but that prince did not think fit to comply with his mandate. These were the chief affairs that called him over : and he returned immediately after *Easter* into *Normandie*. From thence, as soon as the peace was executed, he marched with a great army into *Guienne*, where he received the homages of ¹ *Aimery* viscount of *Thouars* (whom queen *Eleanor* had gained over to his interest) the counts of *Toulouse*, *Engoulesme*, and *La Marche*, the viscount of *Limoges*, and other barons ; not meeting any where with the least opposition. His right however to the possession of that dutchy, was contested by his nephew *Otho* ; who claimed it, and the earldom in *York*, in virtue of a grant from the late king : and being angry at the late peace, sent his brother *Henry* duke of *Saxony* to demand them, as well as the jewels bequeathed him, and their two shares of *Richard's* money and personal estate. *John* was too much elated with his *French* alliance to comply in the least article of these demands : and, as if a man could wipe off his just debts by swearing he would not pay them, pleaded conscience for rejecting the last ; being hindered (as he alledged) by his oath to the king of *France*, from giving any aid, or sending any money, to *Otho*, against the duke of *Suabia*, his rival for the empire.

JOHN was now above consulting any body in his measures, besides that king ; by whose advice he took a step, which *M. Paris* represents as very detrimental to his affairs, and to the kingdom of *England*. *Aymar Taillefer* ² count of *Engoulesme* had, by *Alice de Courtenay*, daughter of *Peter* seventh son of *Louis le Gros* king of *France*, an only daughter and heir named *Isabel* : and had, by the direction of the late king *Richard*, whose vassal he was, affianced her to *Hugh le Brun* count of *La Marche* ; to whom after a contract in *verbis de præsenti*, she had been delivered, till she was of a proper age for the marriage to be solemnized in the face of the church and consummated. *John*, seeing her in this expedition, was much struck with her beauty ; and her father expecting great advantages from marrying her to his lord, found means to carry her away from *Hugh*, and bring her to *Engoulesme*. *John* had been married ten years to *Isabel*, grand-daughter of *Robert* earl of *Gloucester* natural brother to *Maude* the empress ; and had a papal dispensation for that marriage, notwithstanding the reputed consanguinity of the parties. She had brought him no children ; and either on pretence of that consanguinity, or perhaps on account of her barrenness³, he now got divorced from her by the sentence of the archbishop of *Bordeaux* and the bishops of *Poitiers* and *Saintes* ; the first of which prelates married him, immediately after, to *Isabel* of *Engoulesme*. It was a very sudden and unadvised affair, at least as to the match with this young lady ; for though *John* had been for some time weary of his former wife, and when he had got into the throne of *England*, formed a resolution of being divorced from her⁴, he had sent the bishop of *Lisieux*, with three *English* noblemen, on a solemn embassy to *Lisbon*, to demand the king of *Portugal's* daughter in marriage. Those ambassadors were actually at that prince's court, when *John's* marriage with his new wife was solemnized at *Engoulesme* : and having no notice given them of the alteration of his design, the news of it gave them as much surprize, as it did resentment to the king of *Portugal*. There could not be a grosser affront put upon a prince ; and yet, the court of *Rome* pretending to a sovereign judicature in all matrimonial causes, Pope *Innocent* was as much⁵ provoked at the slight put on his predecessor's dispensation in the point of the divorce, and at the consequent marriage's being made without his interposition, and the exercise of his authority, in annulling the precontract. But none had a

¹ Rymer, i. 119, 121, 122.

² Hoveden, p. 803.

³ Diceto, col. 702. Hoveden, ib.

⁴ Diceto, col. 707.

⁵ Ibid.

juster cause of complaint, or was more furious in his resentment, than the count of *JOHN. Le Marche*; who being robbed of his wife, vowed revenge upon *John*, and became *A. D. 1200.* his eternal enemy; doing him an infinite deal of mischief and joining on all occasions, when it was possible to annoy him, with his enemy the king of *France*, who alone found his advantage in the marriage. *John*, in his return from this expedition into *Guienne*, came to *Angers*, where he took an hundred and fifty hostages from the citizens¹: and soon after passed into *England* with his new wife, who was crowned on *Sunday, Oct. 8*, at *Westminster*, by *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LXVIII. THIS prelate had lately, on *Sept. 19*, held a synod at *Westminster*², notwithstanding the prohibition of *Geffrey Fitz Piers* the chief justiciary: it was intended to be a general one of all *England*, and to consist of the clergy of both provinces: but as neither *Geffrey* archbishop of *York*, nor any of his suffragans appeared in it, nor sent any excuse for their absence, it proved to be only a synod of the province of *Canterbury*; such as were ordinarily held by the archbishops of that see in the *Saxon* times, and by *Lanfranc*, *Anselm*, and others after the conquest, without either aid or opposition from the royal authority. It was probably for this reason, because it was, though not in its original design, yet in fact, no more than an ordinary exercise of his archiepiscopal authority, and the crown did not use to interpose in such cases, that no notice was taken of *Hubert's* contempt of the justiciary's prohibition; which perhaps related only to his holding a national synod by his own authority, without any legatine powers: and there was the less occasion to complain of it, since the canons made in this synod were designed only to revive former regulations, to reform abuses in ecclesiastical matters, and to put a stop to some methods of oppression, used by prelates, archdeacons, and rural deans, in making their visitations of churches with too great a number of attendants, and in taking upon them to levy talliages and other exactions upon the inferior clergy. There is however one thing in the form of these canons, justly liable to exception, as being an innovation, and calculated to favour the usurpations of the church of *Rome*; each canon concluding with a saving to its *honour and privilege*: a form so singular, that there is nothing like it to be seen in the acts or decrees of any *English* synod either before or after this; so that it looks as if *Hubert* meant to make his court by it to the *Pope*, and by getting into his good graces, procure himself to be re-invested with a legatine authority.

THE clergy of *England* had little reason to be fond of the papal power, especially as exercised by *Innocent III*; for it was this *Pope* that first assumed a power of taxing them without their consent, and by his sole authority; thereby creating a precedent for his successors to lay upon them what taxes they pleased. There must be some plausible, popular, or extraordinary pretence for creating a precedent of such a nature, as manifestly tended to introduce exactions, which, by growing familiar, would become insupportable: it is thus that all corruptions take their rise, whilst people, in the fury of their zeal for a particular immediate end, the occasion whereof soon passeth away like a morning cloud, are hurried on to take unusual measures, and to set examples, that prove for ever fatal in their consequences, and lay a foundation for the worst of grievances. The relief of the distressed *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, the moving subject of all the sermons of the clergy, and the chief object of all the religious zeal of the laity in those days, was the alluring pretence, made use of by *Innocent*, to draw the *English* clergy into a submission to that extravagant claim, which the *Popes* made to the disposal of all ecclesiastical revenues. It had served already for a pretence to many other usurpations: and *Innocent*, a man

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 805. 811.

² *Ibid.* 806. *Chron. Dunstable.* *Diceto*, col. 707.

JOHN. of as great capacity, knowledge, judgment, art, and vigour, as ever sat upon the
 A. D. 1200. papal throne¹, judging the occasion favourable for his purpose, had the year before laid an injunction on all the prelates and clergy of *Italy, Slavonia, Germany, France, the British isles*, and indeed all *Europe*, possessed by the *Latins* (except *Spain*, which was actually engaged in a war with the infidels) to pay the fortieth part of all their ecclesiastical revenues for the maintenance of those concerned in a *Croisade*, proposed to be undertaken against the *Sarazens*. He charged the clergy of his own church of *Rome* with a tenth on this occasion, to keep others from thinking it an hardship to pay the fortieth part of their income; knowing well, that if his power in this respect was once allowed, he could raise what sums he pleased afterwards: and he sent *Philip*, a *Roman* notary, to collect this tax in *England*. This man travelling with a train from one religious house to another, was extremely burdensome to them all: and having collected this fortieth part of the revenues of the *English* clergy, carried a vast sum of money out of the nation, for the relief of the *Holy Land*, and the charges of the *Croisade*; though *Diceto* supposeth the inveterate avarice of the court of *Rome* diverted the greatest part of it to their own uses, allowing but little to the purposes, for which it was pretended to be levied. At the same time that the Pope exerted the plenitude of his power² over the clergy, in laying this tax upon them, he exhorted the laity to make a like contribution: and the king of *France* doing the same in his dominions, *John* gave the fortieth part of his constant revenue, as well as of his casualties, his wards and escheats, for one year; authorising also a collection to be made of all the barons, military tenants, and freeholders throughout *England*. This was not a regular tax, but a voluntary contribution after the rate of a fortieth part of their clear revenues; for the rent paid by the free tenants to their landlord was not computed in the valuation of their estates and revenue.

JOHN, after his wife's first, and his own second, coronation, sent the³ bishop of *Durham*, the earls of *Norfolk, Hereford, and Huntingdon*, with other very honourable persons, to convoy *William* king of *Scotland* to his court; assigning *November 21*, for the day of that prince's appearing at *Lincoln* to do him homage⁴. The summons was too peremptory for *William* to evade it by excuses in the prosperous condition of *John's* affairs at this time: and bringing *Roland* lord of *Galloway* along with him, he accordingly did homage on⁵ *November 22*, upon an hill without the town, in the sight of all the world; professing himself to be *John's* liegeman, and swearing upon archbishop *Hubert's* cross, "to bear faith to him of life and limb, " and terrene honour, against all men, and (with a saving of his own rights) to " keep peace with him and his kingdom." It is not said, for what particular country this homage was paid, but if it was not for all *Scotland*, the superiority whereof is thought to have been given up by *Richard* (though it is not so expressed in his charter upon that subject) it must be either for *Lothian* or *Galloway*, or for both; since *William* now held no lands in *England*, and the consideration of his claim to *Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland* was, to his great disappointment, put off to the next *Whitsontide*. *John* having dispatched this important point, for the quiet of his own mind, and the security of his realm, had nothing more to do, but to flatter his ease, and indulge himself in feasting: and having kept *Christmas* at *Guilford*, made a progress over the northern counties of *England*; in which, passing by *York*, he came to a reconciliation with his brother *Geoffrey*. Returning thence by *Easter* to *Canterbury*, he was there persuaded by the archbishop, to revive the ancient custom of our kings having the crown put upon their heads at the great festivals⁶: and both he and his queen were so crowned on *Easter day*,

¹ *Baron. Annal.* t. xiii. p. 25, 73.
 l. ii. c. 95.

² *Hoveden*, p. 828.

³ *Hoveden*, p. 811.

⁴ *Chr. Haringt.*

⁵ *Rad. Niger*, f. 81. *Trivet*.

⁶ *Diceto*, col. 709.

in the cathedral of that place, in the presence of the prelates of *Dublin, London, John, Rochester, Ely, and Norwich.*

A. D. 1201.

LXIX. NOTHING but splendour, pomp, and jollity, had as yet followed *John's* ^{Disturbances abroad, and war with France.} hasty marriage with his new queen; but the ill effects of it began now to appear. Some commotions broke out in *Guienne*¹, encouraged by the injured *Hugh de Brun*, count *de la Marche*, and his brother *Ralf de Yssoudun*; who, in right of his wife *Alice* (sole daughter and heir of *Henry II*, count *d'Eu*, the last male descendant of count *Robert*, who was one of the chief counsellors to *William the Conqueror* before the conquest) was, besides² an estate of above six score knights fees in *England*, possessed of the county of *Eu* in *Normandie*. *John*, upon the first advice of these disturbances³, had sent orders to *Gucrin de Glapion*, seneschal of *Normandie*, to fall upon *Ralf's* lands in the county of *Eu*, and to besiege the castle of *Driencourt*, now called *Dancourt*: the place was invested, but the siege was raised by the king of *France's* marching to its relief. *John*, resolving to go over in person to quell these commotions, summoned the earls and barons of *England* to meet him on *Whitsunday*, at *Portsmouth*, well provided with armes and horses to go over with him into *Normandie*. The kings of *England* had not used to put the *English* nobility to the trouble and expence of such foreign expeditions on trifling occasions, when there was no war with any foreign potentate: and the onely business now was to crush two or three vassals of the crown, whose oppressions had put them upon raising a commotion; a business to which the *English* barons, apprehensive it might be some time or other their own case, were ever unwilling to contribute their assistance. The earls and great barons met at *Leicester*, to⁴ consult about the orders sent them: and agreeing in a common resolution, sent word to *John*, that they would not go over with him, unless he restored them their rights; which he not caring to do, required them to deliver up their castles. *William de Albiney* was the first person of whom he made this demand; and that nobleman compounded for his castle of *Belvoir*, by giving his son for an hostage: and the rest, paying a scutage of two marks a knight's fee, were excused from the expedition; which served not only as a pretence for this aid, but as an excuse to put off an answer to the king of *Scotland's* claim of the three northern counties till *Michaelmas*. *John* having sent the earl of *Pembroke* and the constable of *Chester* before him, with two hundred stipendiary knights, or men of armes, to repress the attempts of the insurgents abroad⁵, and left *Hubert de Burgh*, his chamberlain, with an hundred knights, to guard the marches of *Wales*, which were soon after further secured by a peace with prince *Llewellyn ap Iorwerth*, sailed with his queen from *Portsmouth* in *Whitsun* week: and after a difficult passage, landed safe in *Normandie*.

Soon after his arrival in that country, *John* had a conference with the king of *France* near *Andely*; in which they agreed very well: and the former going three days after, by invitation, to *Paris*, was there magnificently entertained for some days, and lodged in the king's palace. From thence he passed to *Chinon*⁶; where the queen dowager *Berengaria* coming to him about her dower, he assigned her, in lieu thereof⁷, the revenue of the city of *Bayeux* and its dependencies, and two castles in *Anjou*, besides an annuity of a thousand marks sterling. He was now on the borders of *Guienne*, with a force sufficient to have reduced the male-content barons of that country, if he had not either wanted vigour, or been restrained by his late agreement with the king of *France*, when they renewed their former treaty of peace: but instead of attacking them briskly, he retired into *Normandie*, and

¹ *Mon. Angl.* t. i. p. 838. t. ii. p. 870, 921.

² *Rot. Pip.* 29 *H. iii.* *Suff. & Ebor.*

³ *Hoveden,*

p. 819, 819. *Dicto*, col. 709.

⁴ *Hoveden, ib.* *M. Paris.*

⁵ *Rymer*, i. 123.

⁶ *Hoveden,*

p. 822, 823. ⁷ *Rymer*, i. 124.

JOHN. left *Robert de Turnham* to repress their excursions. These barons complained of several grievances and invasions of their rights by *John's* officers, who had seized some of their castles: and finding no redress from him, appealed to *Philip* as supreme lord of their fiefs, desiring him to take them under his protection, and to do them justice'. *Philip* had accordingly interposed in their behalf, and pressed *John* not to infringe their rights, or treat them harshly; otherwise he could not avoid doing the duty incumbent on him, as their sovereign lord, in hearing their complaints, and giving them redress in a judicial manner. The regular method, in which the vassals of the fiefs held of the kings of *England*, as dukes of *Normandie* and *Guienne*, were to seek the redress of any grievance, was to apply first to their immediate lord, who being assisted by a council of their peers (that is of such as were equal to them in dignity, holding of him by the same tenure, and having a right to a seat in his court of judicature) determined the point that came before him in judgment: and if this sentence proved unjust, the party aggrieved might then appeal to the supreme lord, the king of *France's* court, where the sentence was examined, and judgment given by the peers of the mesne lord, who held of the crown immediately. *John* insisted very reasonably upon this method, and that the complaints of the *Guienne* barons should be first heard in his own court; *Philip* too readily acquiesced in that point, and only recommended to him to do them speedy justice. This was what *John* had a mind to elude; and as in cases where the proof of rights is not very clear, recourse was generally had, by order of the court, to a duel between the parties, or their champions, he had got some ordinary gentlemen, noted for their strength and skill in duelling, to serve him on that occasion: but these the count of *La Marche* and his brother rejected, as not being their peers, nor qualified by the laws and received rules in such cases, to be put on a par with them in a duel. This proceeding raised their resentments higher than ever: and made them suspect every proposal on the part of *John*, though coloured with the pretence of doing them justice, as made with some treacherous design. He summoned them to his courts, in order, as he professed, to hear their complaints: but refused to send them the safe-conducts which they desired, and which were usually granted in such cases, when a vassal, being oppressed or injured by his lord's officers, had reasons to apprehend he had enemies in his court, who might get him dispatched clandestinely, to prevent their own iniquities being discovered. They complained again to the king of *France* of this denial of justice, or artifice to prevent it; desiring that the cause might be evoked to his tribunal, and that the king of *England* might be summoned thither, as his vassal, to give an account of his conduct in the government of the fiefs he held immediately of the crown of *France*, and answer for the treatment of the mesne vassals. *Philip* did not yet cite *John* to appear: but pressed him in the strongest manner to do justice in the case, without any more delays; reproaching him with the breach of his word, and threatening to take other measures, if he neglected it any longer. *John* pretending that he had been hitherto hindered by some urgent affairs, promised to hold immediately a court of his barons at *Angers*; and if those, who made their complaints, came to *London*, he would send them letters of safe-conduct: but still found out new pretexts, to elude the performance of his promise.

IN the mean time, *Constance* of *Bretagne*² dying on *August* 31, at *Nantes*, her son *Arthur* had gone from *Paris* to *Rennes*, in order to take possession of the duchy, and to receive the homage and oaths of fealty of all the nobility. This prince, supporting the complaints of the barons of *Guienne*, and demanding likewise justice with regard to his own rights in the fiefs of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Guienne*, the king of *France*, now free from all disputes with the Pope, resolved to be trifled with no

¹ *Gul. Brito Philip.* l. vi.

² *Hoveden*, p. 822. *D'Hozier Hist. Bretagne*, c. 28, 29.

longer:

longer: and made preparation to procure from *John*, by force of arms, that satisfaction which he could not obtain by his repeated instances. *John*, terrified at the prospect of a war, sent to *Philip*; intreating him not to break the peace, and assuring him of immediate satisfaction: but could procure no credit to his promises after so many failures¹, nor any delay of hostilities, without delivering up the castles of *Tillieres* and *Boutavant*, as pledges of his sincerity. *John* agreed to the condition; a day was fixed for the putting them into the hands of *Philip*: but when he appeared before them, in order to take possession, he was denied entrance by the governors, who pretended, that they had no orders from their master on that subject. The king of *France*, enraged at such a series of collusion, was going to begin the war; when *John*, to gain more time, or perhaps in hopes of making some accommodation with him, desired a conference on *March* 25, in the isle² of *Goulet*, near *Andely*. It was held, but without effect; *Philip's* demands being very high, and containing either a cession of the provinces held of him to *Arthur*, or at least sufficient security, that *John* would stand to the judgment of his court (where he had been summoned to appear fifteen days after *Easter*) with regard to his and his nephew's claims to that part of *Richard's* succession. It was, in all appearance, this demand, which made *John*, two days after, summon³ *Arthur* to come and do homage to him for *Bretagne*.

THE king of *France*, as soon as the conference was over⁴, laid siege to *Tillieres* and *Boutavant*, which he took in the space of three weeks: and having made himself master of *Mortemer*, *Lions*, *Argueuil*, and other castles, sat down before *Gournay*, one of the strongest places on the frontiers of *Normandie*, and lying on the river *Epte*, five leagues above *Gisors*. It was seated in a marshy plain, and defended by a numerous garrison, so well provided with all necessaries, that it was expected to hold out a considerable time: but *Philip* breaking the banks of a large pool, which lay at a small distance, and higher than the town, the water fell down with so impetuous a torrent upon the walls, as bore them down before it, and almost drowned the place; the garrison and inhabitants being obliged to quit it, and fly to the higher ground in the neighbourhood. The king of *France* entered the place as soon as the water was drained off: and whilst he staid there to repair the fortifications, knighted *Arthur*, now in his sixteenth year, and gave him his daughter *Mary*, as yet very young, in marriage; with the investiture, not only of *Bretagne*, but of *Guienne* and *Anjou*. The young prince being fond of making his first essay in arms, *Philip*⁵ furnished him with two hundred knights, and a sum of money, to attack *Guienne*; and ordered the militia of *Berry* and *Burgundy* to march to his assistance. These troops were not come up, nor those which he expected from *Bretagne*; when *Arthur*, hearing, as he passed near *Mirebeau* in *Poitou*, that queen *Eleanor* was in the castle of that place, marched thither and took it; the queen retiring into a large tower within it, in hopes of being relieved. Upon advice of her distress, *John*, getting for once the better of the indolence of his nature, flew to her assistance with a great body of *Brabantins* and *English* forces: and on *Tuesday*, *August* 1,⁶ came upon *Arthur's* small party so suddenly, that he surprized them, when they least expected an enemy. They had been reinforced only by some *Poitouin* barons; yet, confident of their own bravery, and imagining they had only to do with a corps of roving *Brabantins*, they drew out of the place to fight them in the field: but were soon broke, and flying back into the castle, the *English* pursued them so close, that they entered with them, and remained masters of the place after a bloody combat, in which their valour is highly celebrated. The count of

¹ Gul. Brito, l. vi. ² Diceto, col. 710. M. Westm. M. Paris. ³ Rymer, i. 128. ⁴ Gul. Brito Philip, l. vi. ⁵ Trivet. ⁶ Rad. Niger. M. Paris. Chron. Guil. de Nangis in Dachery's Spicileg. t. xi. p. 479.

JOHN. *La Marché*¹, *Geffrey de Lusignan*, *Andrew de Chavigny*, the viscount *de Chatellerauli*, *Savary de Mauleon*, with other barons of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, above two hundred knights, and *Arthur* himself, were taken prisoners in the action. The news of it made the king of *France* raise the siege of the castle of *Arques*², after having lain a fortnight before it, and march in haste to the *Loire*, to support *Arthur's* party, much sunk by this disaster. He achieved his design with little difficulty; *John*, after receiving the submission of *Tours* and *Angers*, being retired with his forces to *Roüen*:³ and making himself master of the first of those places, set the town on fire, levelled the walls, and dismantled the castle.

*John murders
prince Ar-
thur, and
loots Normandy.*

LXX. HAD *John* known how to improve a victory, this would have been of vast service to his affairs: but fools are often ruined by their success; and he used it with so much cruelty, as rendered him the execration of mankind. He was a coward in his nature, and consequently bloody; had no notion of magnanimity, nor any bowels of compassion; and giving a loose to his revenge (after ⁴ *Hugh le Brun* count of *La Marché*, and *Geffrey de Lusignan* had ransomed themselves by the surrender of their castles) sent the rest of his prisoners⁵ into *England*: where they were close confined in several castles, and treated inhumanely; no less than two and twenty of the greatest quality, and most distinguished bravery among them, being famished to death in that of *Corse* alone. *Arthur* soon verified the observation, that there is but a short interval between the imprisonment, and the death of princes; for being conveyed to the castle of *Falaise*⁶, he was there kept in prison; till the strong instances made by his father-in-law the king of *France*, *W. de Roches*, and the nobles of *Bretagne* for his liberty, and the apprehensions which *John* had, of his being able to recover his right by their assistance, caused orders to be sent for depriving him of his eyes and testicles, to incapacitate him for government, and prevent his leaving any posterity. *Hubert de Burgh*, chamberlain of the household, and constable of the castle of *Falaise*, refused to execute these orders: but imagining it might either lessen *John's* resentment, or answer his purpose by dispiriting the young prince's adherents, gave out that *Arthur* was executed, and the bells tolled for him all over *Normandie*. This expedient did not succeed; the *Bretons* vowed revenge and eternal enmity against his murderer; and such troubles began to break out, that *Hubert*, to prevent them, was forced to discover that *Arthur* was alive: but all the use *John* made of this knowledge, and of the experience he had of the ill effects of a bare rumour of his death, was to remove him to the castle of *Roüen*, and get him there dispatched so very privately, that the time, manner, and circumstances of his death, are not to be related with any certainty.

THE *French* writers say, that *John* being told by *William de Bray*⁷, whom he pressed to murder the young prince, “that he was a gentleman and not an hang-man,” and having received a like answer from others of his confidants, whom he would fain have employed in the murder, resolved at last to be the executioner himself. Pursuant to this bloody resolution, coming one night in a boat to the foot of the tower of the castle of *Roüen*, he ordered the prince to be put into the boat, and having run him through several times with his sword, and carried the corpse some leagues down the stream of the *Seine*, threw it into the river. This relation seems the most probable of any, as well because it tallies better than others with the report, which *John's* creatures affected to give out, that *Arthur* in attempting to make his escape out of the window of the tower, in which he was kept, and which looked over the river, had fallen into it and was drowned; as because the *French*, becoming so soon after masters of *Roüen*, when a free inquiry might be made into

¹ *Annal. Margam.*

² *M. Paris.*

³ *Rob. de Monte.*

⁴ *Annal. Waverl.*

⁵ *Annal. Margam.*

⁶ *Rad. Niger. l. 98.*

⁷ *Gul. Brito De gest. Phil. Aug.*

the manner of his death, their writers are in reason to be supposed the most likely to acquire a knowledge of all its circumstances. Nor doth this differ in the main from the account given in the *Annals of Margam*; which being more particular in this point, than the rest of our *English* writers, say, that on the *Thursday* before *Easter* (¹ *April* 3) in the afternoon, *John*, after a drunken bout, murdered *Arthur* with his own hand, and tying a large stone about his body, threw it into the *Seine*; where it was said to be found afterwards by a fisherman, dragged to shore in his net, and interred in the priory of *Nôtre Dame du Pré*, belonging to the abbey of *Bec*, with great secrecy, for fear of the tyrant. It agrees too with the general opinion ² of the world, at the time of the murder, that *John* committed it with his own hand; though *Ralf Niger*, and after him, *Hemingford* and *Knighton* say, that *Peter de Maulac* or *Maeuly*, a *Gascon*, was the instrument he employed to kill *Arthur*, and was for that execrable fact rewarded with the barony of *Mulgrave* ³; *John* bestowing on him *Isabel*, daughter of *Robert de Turnham*, heiress of the barony, and by that and other grants, raising him from nothing to be one of the most considerable of his nobility. As to the time of it, the day assigned by the *Annals of Margam* agrees very well with what *M. Paris* says, of an hasty trip that *John* made into *England*, to be crowned again at *Canterbury* on *April* 14, by archbishop *Hubert*, (as if that rite would better his title, or hallow his person after the murder of his nephew, the right heir of the crown) and returning back immediately to *Normandie*; which made all the world conclude, *Arthur* was then murdered. It was apparently the sole design of that visit to *England*; though he brought over with him *Arthur's* sister *Eleanor* ⁴, called *La Brette*, or the *Damofel* of *Bretagne*, of whose right to the crown he was now as much afraid, as he had been of her brother's: and having no place of sufficient security to keep her in abroad, confined her closely all his life in one castle or other, though generally at *Bristol*, under the guard of four knights, charged particularly to take care, that she should have no child, who might afterwards, by hereditary right, lay claim to the kingdom of *England*.

THERE never was an usurpation upon earth, that was not brought about and supported by a thousand lies and falsehoods: and of this nature, I take that story to be, which, in order to palliate *John's* iniquity in this detestable murder of his nephew, represents *Arthur* not only as insisting on his right, to all his uncle *Richard's* dominions, but as treating *John* with disdain, and using provoking language with menaces, very unlikely to come out of the mouth of a prisoner, and certainly very unfit for one in such a condition. There is nothing so wicked or cruel, that an usurper, conscious of the badness of his own title, and the injustice he does another, is not capable of acting, to secure an ill gotten throne: it was *John's* view in this act of inhumanity, though it did not answer his purpose. It lost him the esteem (if he ever had it) and the affections of his own people and servants; it made him detested by all the world: those who had before served him with zeal and vigour, now quitted his service, and turned against him; whilst his enemies were enraged to the last degree. It not only lost *Bretagne* for ever to the crown of *England*, whose naval power it would have greatly increased, and whose dominions on the continent it would have united and contributed exceedingly to secure against all the attempts of *France*, but it was ⁵ also the immediate cause of the loss of *Normandie*, and the neighbouring provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*. *John* indeed, with his wretched understanding, was weak or vain enough to imagine it might be a means of procuring

¹ This is the day assigned for it in the process before the court of peers of *France* against *John* for this murder: and it is the more reasonable to think it was so, because it was either two or four days after the death of his mother *Eleanor*, during

whose life he durst not commit so execrable a fact on her grandson.

² *Chron. Norm. M. Paris.* ³ *Dugdale's Baron.* t. i. p. 733, 734. ⁴ *T. Wikes.*

⁵ *D'Hozier's Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 209.

JOHN.
A. D. 1203.

him the government of the first of those countries: and with an amazing impudence demanded it of the estates of *Bretagne*, under the pretext of having his niece *Eleanor* in his power, and being her guardian and nearest relation. The *Bretons*, enraged at the death of a prince, whose bounty many of them had experienced, and whose noble qualities they all loved and admired, received the proposal with horror: and as the late dutchess *Constance* had left a daughter (named *Alice*, an infant of an year old) by *Guy de Thouars*, they appointed this nobleman chief of the council of government during her minority, or till they could get *Eleanor* out of captivity, which they in vain solicited. The estates of *Bretagne*, assembled at *Vannes*, went still farther, they accused *John* of murder and parricide in the court of peers of *France*, and deputed *Peter* bishop of *Rennes*, who had been *Arthur's* chancellor, and *Richard de Marechal*, as their embassadors to *Philip*; empowering them in form to prosecute their appeal. *John* was cited to appear before that court; and failing to do so, was condemned by the unanimous sentence of the peers; declaring that, “whereas *John* duke of *Normandie*, forgetting his oath to king *Philip* his lord, “had murdered his elder brother’s son, being an homager of the crown of *France*, “and the king’s near relation, and perpetrated that crime within the feignory of “*France*, he was therefore adjudged guilty of felony and treason, and to forfeit all “his territories, which he held by homage.”

JUHAEL DE MAYENNE¹, a powerful baron in *Bretagne* and *Mayenne*, who had lately entered into *John's* service, and had, with *William des Roches* seneschal of *Maine* and *Anjou*, contributed more than any other to the success of *Mirebeau*, was one of the *Breton* lords, that joined in this prosecution. *William des Roches* immediately quitted his service: and in a short time, by sending a party of soldiers in the habit of peasants and merchants into the place, on a fair, or market day, found means to surprize *Angers*. This with the king of *France's* coming into those parts, encouraged most of the nobility of *Anjou* and the adjoining province of *Poitou*, to take up armes and revolt to *Philip*; a defection, which *John*, never to be restrained from exercising the cruelty of his nature by any experience of its fatal effects, revenged in his bloody manner²: putting all their hostages to death, to make their enmity irreconcilable. *Philip*, with the assistance of the *Bretons* and *Poitovins*, easily made himself master of several fortresses beyond the *Loire*; *Robert* count of *Alençon* put that town into his hands, with several castles on the borders of *Perche* and *Normandie*; and *Philip*, thinking his conquests in no danger of being retaken, dismissed his forces³. *John* seized this opportunity to besiege *Alençon*; hoping to take it before an army could be got together for its succour: and he would have gained his point, but for an accident. There happened to be a tournament then held at *Moret* in the *Gatinois*, where a vast number of gentry were assembled; desirous to distinguish themselves in military diversions: and *Philip* going thither, found no difficulty in persuading them to march with him to the relief of *Alençon*. These with their numerous trains of attendants, which ordinarily followed them on such occasions, being joined to such of his troops as lay near enough to be got together, formed a body of forces very considerable for their bravery: and *Philip* advancing at their head with great expedition towards *Alençon*, *John* raised the siege in so much hurry, that he left all his machines, tents, and baggage behind.

THE king of *France* then turning his armes on the side of *Normandie* towards *Rouen*⁴, took *Conches*, *Vaudreuil*, and some other places. *Hugh de Gourney* and *Peter*, son of *Robert* count of *Meulant*⁵, revolted to him, and delivered up their

¹ Rymer, i. 124. Rad. Niger. f. 97.
Rad. Niger. f. 100.

² Trivet.

³ Gul. Brito, Philip. l. viii.

⁴ M. Paris.

⁵ Rob. de Monte.

castles of *Montfort* and *Beaumont le Roger*; and about the middle of *August* he invested the famous fortress ¹ of *Chateau-Gaillard*. This castle was seated near *Little Andely* by the side of the *Seine*, on a rock so high and craggy, that it was impossible either to scale the walls, or batter them with the ram, and other military engines. Over against it, in an island called the isle of *Andely*, was another fortress; within the walls of which was a palace built by the late king *Richard*, who had fortified these two places (which had a communication together and contributed to each other's strength) with so much skill and judgment, that they seemed impregnable, but by famine. *John* was in an ill condition to raise the siege of this important place, which was considered as the bulwark of *Normandie*: and though he had an army strong enough to fight *Philip*, he durst not venture a battle. Conscious of his crimes, and the universal odium he had incurred by the murder of *Arthur*, he suspected the fidelity of his troops: and having lost his mother *Eleanor*², who died a day or two before that murder, in a conjuncture, when her advice and good offices, which had been of vast service to him, were more than ever necessary, there was no body about him, that had influence enough to animate him to an act of vigour.

HE had taken the low method of suing to the *Pope*, to procure him a peace with *France*; and *Innocent* had sent the abbots of *Casemare* and *Trefons* to negotiate it, and enjoin both the princes to assemble their prelates and nobility, in order to make a peace, and repair the churches and monasteries that had been destroyed in their wars. These orders were notified to the king of *France* about *Midsummer*, whilst he was at *Mante*: and they appeared so extraordinary to all his court, that in their indignation at this proceeding, the ⁴ duke of *Burgundy*, the counts of *Nevers*, *Soissons*, *Beaumont*, *Sancerre*, and *Boulogne*, the lords of *Coucy*, *Dampierre*, and others of the prime nobility, signed instruments; desiring him not to mind those orders, nor be forced by the *Pope* to a peace or truce with *John*, and assuring him of their services or assistance. *Philip* did not care to lose the advantages he had against his adversary; and sending some of his prelates to *Rome*, prevailed with *Innocent* not to interpose in their quarrel; succeeding the easier in this point, because *John*, by a carelessness familiar to him, had no agent there, to dispute or disprove his allegations. This method failing to obtain a peace, *John* was left under the necessity of trying the fate of war, and of making an attempt, if not to raise the siege, at least to throw supplies into *Chateau-Gaillard*. The place, with the isle adjoining, were beleaguered on all sides, and a bridge of flat-bottomed boats had been laid cross the river below them, to prevent any succours of men and provisions being sent from *Roüen*, by land or water: it was resolved to attack, at the same time, this bridge and the corps of troops posted on the *Vexin* side of the river. The earl of *Pembroke* with four thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a large body of *Brabantins* marched to attack the latter; and a fleet of seventy vessels, built by *Richard* a little before his death, and equally fit for river or sea-service, with three thousand *Flemings* on board, and some large barges laden with victuals, was destined to the former enterprize. They set out together with great secrecy in the beginning of the night; and had they arrived at the same time, the attempt would have succeeded. But the fleet advancing, against the stream of the river and a contrary wind, much slower than was imagined, the land forces arrived before it: and the earl having

¹ *Gul. Brito*, l. vii.

² Most writers place her death in *A. D.* 1204. The annals of *Waverley* and *Walsingham* (*Ypod. Neustr.* p. 459) fix also the day, the former on *April* 1, the latter on *March* 30: but they are certainly mistaken as to the year, which was *A. D.* 1203, as appears from a patent in the fifth

of *John* dated on *April* 15, at the *Easter* next after the death of our mother *Q. Eleanor*, and on *May* 5, this year, *John* settled on his wife *Isabel*, all the lands that had been his mother's jointure. *Cart.* 5, *John*. n. 33. *Rymer*, i. 134.

⁴ *Rigord. Gul. Brito.* ⁴ See their letters in *MISS Brienne*, N^o 34. in *Bibl. Reg. Paris*.

JOHN. waited till day was on the point of breaking, attacked some houses, filled with sutlers, in his way to the camp and at a small distance from it: and put about two hundred of them to the sword; which served at once to alarm the enemy, and make his own men disperse for the sake of plunder. The *French*, surprized by an unexpected attack, were at first in a good deal of consternation, and began to fly towards the bridge: but their officers rallying them, and observing the disorder of the *English*, by the light of some bushes and houses they had set on fire, charged them in that condition, broke and dispersed the whole body. The fleet did not come up till day appeared: and the enemy being prepared to receive it, all its efforts to break the bridge, and throw victuals into the place, were fruitless. Such was the issue of an enterprize well enough laid, but ill executed, and of the onely effort, which *John* made for the defence of *Normandie*.

THIS prince spent all his time in feasting, drinking, and dallying with his queen: and giving no attention to publick affairs; affected to appear as gay and merry, as if he had been in the midst of peace, and had triumphed over all his enemies. *Philip* on the contrary, urging his success, soon made himself master of the isle, and of the town of *Andely*, which lay at the foot of *Chateau-Gaillard*: and having blocked up this last place so closely, that it was impracticable to throw into it any supply of men or provisions, marched with part of his forces to besiege *Rade-pont*, a strong place lying on the *Andelle*, about three or four leagues from *Roüen*. It was a place of consequence: yet being assaulted with great vigour, did not hold out above three weeks; *John* not making the least attempt for its relief, but indulging his ease, and when he was told of the *French* taking this and other places, crying out in his vain and blustering manner, “Let them go on, I’ll recover more in a day, than they can take in a twelvemonth.” Whether it was any remorse for his nephew’s murder, or an universal distrust of his own servants, which kept him in a continual confusion, and made him give up himself entirely to sottishness and effeminacy, his conduct was so unaccountable, that every body thought him bewitched: and the *English* nobility and gentry, that were with him, seeing no probability of doing service, or acquiring glory, and perhaps having entertained a distaste to his government, desired leave to go home; promising however a speedy return. *John* did not allow them an opportunity of making good their word; for having demolished the walls of *Moulineaux*, *Montfort*, and *Pont de l’Arche*, as if he had a mind to lay the whole country open to the enemy, and ordered ships to be got ready for his passage, with great secrecy, he stole away from *Normandie*, and landed on *December* 6, at *Portsmouth*.

A. D. 1204. *PHILIP* did not fail to make his advantage of this shameful and precipitate departure; which he interpreted as a dereliction of the country, sufficient to imply a general direction, that every body should submit to him as sovereign of the province; whose business it was to take care of them, when the mesne lord had renounced or quitted their protection. He had now free liberty to extend his conquests, and to reduce all the castles that lined the frontier of the *Vexin*; being wonderfully favoured in that work by the weather; which in that winter season of the year, was from *January* to *May*, as dry and warm, as it usually is in the midst of summer. Every thing fell before him; only *Chateau-Gaillard* still held out, though *Roger de Lacey*, constable of *Chester*, governor of the place, having at different times, as he found his victuals decrease, and the hope of succours remote, put out the less useful mouths, the garrison was reduced to a small number. This encouraged *Philip* to try, if he could take the castle by force: and having, with incredible labour, filled up a vast hollow, that lay between an opposite rock, and that on which the fortress stood, brought his engines to bear on the walls, and his

¹ *M. Paris. Rigord.* ² *M. Paris. Annal. Waverl.*

miners to sap the foundation. The hardness of the rock made this last a laborious undertaking: but he achieved his purpose; the place being taken partly by surprise, and partly by storm, about the 6th of *March*, after having held out above six months, and *Roger de Lacy*, with about an hundred and sixty others, being taken prisoners. *Philip* treated the governor with great honours for his brave defence, and upon his parole let him go at large about *Paris*: but took care to make him pay six thousand marks for his ransom.

John had such a distrust of all his subjects, that at his departure he would not trust the government of *Normandie* in the hands of any of them: but left the care of its defence to *Arches Martin* and *Lupicaire*, two chieftains of his *Brabantins*, mercenary fellows, used to rapine, venal, and ready to serve the highest bidder; to the general discontent of the nobility, who thought it below them, to serve under such commanders, and of all the people of the country, who were in continual fear of being plundered by those bands of robbers. No body cares to stand by a prince that deserts them, and hath not resolution enough to stand by himself: all the noblesse of *Normandie* had now either revolted openly, or were on the point of declaring themselves. The king of *France*, after taking *Chateau-Gaillard*, made, in the week after *Easter*¹, his next attempt upon *Falaise*, the strongest fortress in the lower *Normandie*, and deemed the bulwark of that country. He prepared to besiege it in form, and had erected his machines of battery: but *Lupicaire* did not give him the trouble of playing them; surrendering the town and castle the seventh day of the siege, and entering with his *Brabantins* into *Philip's* service; such are the effects of trusting the defence of a country to mercenary foreigners. *Seez*, *Argentan*, and *Danfront*, with other places in the neighbourhood, submitted without any trouble: the citizens of *Caen* opened their gates to him at his approach; and their example was followed by those of *Lisieux*, *Bayeux*, and *Coutances*. *Guy de Thouars* had, in the mean time, with four hundred knights, and a numerous army of *Bretons*, fallen into *Normandie* on the side of *Bretagne*, and had taken *Pontorson*, *Mont S. Michel*, *Avranches*, and *Mortain*; his troops, composed chiefly of men used to plunder, made strange havock in the country: and though *John* had not courage to defend it, he had resentment enough to revenge the mischief, by sending an army of *English* to make the like ravages in *Bretagne*, whilst the forces which should have guarded it, were absent. *Dol* and *Fougères* were taken, and the neighbourhood wasted, before *Guy* could come back with his troops, reinforced by a detachment of *French* under the count of *Boulogne* and *W. des Barres*: but then the *English* retired to their ships, which lay at *Cancale*, near *S. Malo*, and returned to *England*.

The king of *France* had now reduced all the lower *Normandie*, except *Vernueil*, without opposition, and all the upper, except *Arques* and *Rouën*; which three places had made a kind of league together for their common defence, and had engaged, in case they should be obliged to surrender, that none of them should do so without including the others in their treaty. The first of these that *Philip* besieged was *Rouën*, the capital of the duchy; fortified with a double wall and triple ditch, exceeding populous, and too large to be entirely surrounded by an army. The inhabitants had an utter aversion to the *French* government: and the mob had massacred some *Frenchmen* that were in the town, when *Philip* appeared with his troops on the side of the bridge, on the south of the *Seine*: when summoned, they declared their resolution of defending the place to the last extremity; and sent to *England* for assistance. *John* had, at the latter end of ²*March*, sent the archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the bishops of *Ely* and *Norwich*, and the earls of *Leicester* and *Pembroke* on an embassy to the court of *France* to sue for peace: but *Philip* insisting that

¹ *Rad. Niger*, i. 100, 101.

² *Ibid.*

JOHN. *Arthur's* sister, *Eleanor*, should be given in marriage to his younger son, with all the dominions held of the crown of *France*, these terms were thought too unreasonable, and the negotiation proved unsuccessful. *John*, from that time, gave up all *Normandie* for lost: and when the deputies of *Roüen* came to him for succour, he sent them back in despair of any, leaving them to make the best terms they could for themselves. This sunk the spirits of the citizens: and the *Barbacan*, a fort which covered the bridge, being taken, they came, on *June 1*, to an agreement with *Philip*, to deliver up the city, if peace was not made, or the siege raised by the end of the month. *Arques* and *Vernueil* were, if they pleased, to have the benefit of this capitulation, and their privileges likewise confirmed: and no succour coming in the mean time, they were all surrendered at the expiration of the term, according to the articles. Thus was *Normandie* re-united to the *domaine* of *France*, after having been two hundred and ninety-two years dismembered from that monarchy: and *Philip* soon after compleated the conquest of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, except the castle of *Chinon*, which was bravely defended by *Hubert de Burgh* till *Midsummer* in the year following; when after a blockade and siege of near a year, he was taken in the place, having been first dangerously wounded.

THE loss of such considerable territories would have made any prince uneasy, that had the least regard for his honour and glory: but *John* was little affected by it; finding consolation enough in the charms of his wife, the confiscation of the estates of the *Normans* in *England*¹, and in getting *John de Courcy*, the conqueror and lord of *Ulster*, into his power. This nobleman had refused to take the oaths to *John*², or to do him homage; charging him with usurpation, and with the murder of the rightful heir of the crown, his nephew *Arthur*: and *Walter de Lacy*, with his brother *Hugh*, had been directed to seize his person. *Walter* proposed to do this by treachery: and inviting *John* to a conference, fell suddenly upon him, killed several of his men, and pursued him so close, that *John*, in his flight, passing by a castle belonging to *Hugh de Lacy*, was persuaded by this last to take refuge there till he had rallied his forces. *John* suspecting no ill design, in a man that was his vassal, and had done him homage, went into the castle: but was there detained till his followers wasting the lands of the *Lacies*, they were forced to set him at liberty. After this, a sharp battle was fought between them; in which *John* had the victory: but not long after, on *Good Friday, April 23*, this year, going to church unarmed and barefoot in a linen garment, like a penitent, he was perfidiously seized by his own people: and delivered to *Hugh de Lacy*; who carrying him over to *England*, obtained a grant of the earldom of *Ulster* for this service, and *Courcy* was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment.

Propoeth an expedition to *Paris*, and it last goes further.

LXXI. *JOHN*, in the mean time, to derive some advantage from his losses abroad, made a mighty blustering in *England*³, as if *Normandie* was not lost by any fault of his own, but by the desertion of those lords; who returning home, though with his license, left his castles and territories unguarded, and his person exposed to the fury of the enemy. This pretence served to extort from them a seventh part of their moveables without their consent: nor did he want others for laying imposts on the convents and parish churches. The nobility and military tenants were in a great council, held on *January 2*, at *Oxford*, charged with a scutage at the rate of two marks and an half for a knight's fee: and the prelates with the clergy were forced to promise a like aid, before they were suffered to depart. These aids were levied on account of an expedition to *Normandie*; though *John* neither went in person, nor sent any forces thither; so that he either diverted them to supply his own

¹ Rot. Norm. vi. *John. De valore terrarum Normannorum.*
² Camden's *Britannia.* ³ *M. Paris.*

² *Hoveden*, p. 823. *Annals of Ireland*

luxury, or they were raised too late to answer the service. About *Whitfontide* JOHN.
indeed in the next year, he gave himself an air, as if he would go abroad in person A. D. 1205.
to the relief of *Poitou*¹; where *Robert de Turnham* and *Savary de Mauleon* had, with great courage and conduct, made head for some time against the superior force of the other barons, assisted by *Philip*, who had, in the *August* before, taken *Poitiers*: but *Robert* being worsted in an engagement, and taken prisoner; and the castle of *Loches* being forced to surrender, the whole province was on the point of being lost without immediate succour. For this purpose he raised a great army, and caused a numerous fleet to rendezvous at *Portsmouth*, in order to cross the seas upon this expedition: but when he was ready to embark, the archbishop of *Canterbury* and *W. Marechal* dissuaded him from venturing his person among so fickle a people as those of *Poitou*, and in a country where no place of strength held for him, but *Niort*. There was at this time a general expectation over *England* of a descent to be made there by the duke of *Lovain* and the count of *Boulogne*, and to be supported by all the power of the king of *France*, within a month after their landing; pursuant to certain engagements, into which they were said to have entered. This, with the danger of the kingdom's being lost, if he having no child to succeed him, should be absent at the time of an invasion, was urged to deter him from the expedition: but the more they pressed his stay, the more eager was *John* to go; nor could they prevail upon him, though they begged it on their knees, till they told him plainly, they would detain him by force, rather than suffer the realm to be left defenceless. *John* then seemed to cool, and asked the archbishop what he thought most advisable for his safety and reputation, since the *Poitovins* expected his coming: and it being proposed that he should send his brother *William Longuepée* earl of *Salisbury*, and some other noblemen, with a strong army, to assist them, he seemed to comply with the advice, and dismissed the greatest part of his barons and knights; who had many of them been put to great charges in providing for this expedition, and in bringing their followers from distant parts of the kingdom. When this farce was over, and the ships assembled from all the ports of *England* were sent back with their equipage, much discontented at being called together to no purpose, *John* returned to *Winchester*: but presently after, as if he repented of the cautious party he had taken, went back to *Portsmouth*. Having hired there a good number of ships, he put to sea with a small retinue on *July 15*: but either his heart failing him, or (if he ever really intended to go) his mind changing, he landed again in two days at *Stodland*, near *Wareham*, in *Dorsetshire*. This pretended attempt of an expedition, answered *John's* views much better than a real one: for immediately after his return, he extorted a great sum of money from his subjects, as well clergy as laity, on pretence of their having declined to follow him beyond sea, for the recovery of his lost dominions.

IN the year following, *John* actually went abroad with a numerous army; and made a faint attempt for the recovery of *Poitou*: being animated to that step by the assurances of two noblemen of great power in that country, that they would assist him with all their forces. *Guy de Thouars*, who governed *Bretagne* during the minority of his daughter *Alice*, had lately made an advantageous match² with *Enflache de Mauleon*, an heiress of very considerable territories in *Guienne*: and was obliged for it to *John*, who, as lord of the country, had the disposal of young ladies, that were his vassals, in marriage. He was likewise jealous of the too great power of the king of *France*; who, by his late conquests, had quite surrounded *Bretagne*: and had such a party among the nobility of the duchy, that *Guy* either apprehended it might follow the fate of the adjoining provinces, or thought his own authority very precarious, whilst it depended on that prince's pleasure. These

¹ *Rad. Niger. M. Paris.* ² *Hist. de Bretagne, c. 29.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1206. considerations making him wish to see *John* again in possession of *Poitou*, to serve as a balance to *Philip's* power, and be a support to himself on occasion, he had entered into a treaty with him: and had drawn his elder brother *Aimery*, viscount of *Thouars* (who for his services in reducing it to the king of *France's* obedience, had been made by him seneschal of the province) into the same sentiments and measures. *John*, invited by the two brothers, and some other barons of *Poitou*, embarked with a great army on *June 25*, at *Portsmouth*: and landed on *July 9*, at *Rochelle*. It is not easy to conceive, in the silence of historians upon the subject, what was the occasion of his first enterprize¹, which *M. Paris* celebrates as the most glorious act of his expedition, or, at least, as that which most flattered his vanity. As soon as he landed, he marched with his forces to *Montauban*, a town in *Quercy*, strongly seated on an hill above the *Tarn*, and belonging to his brother-in-law the count of *Toulouse*: and having battered it for fifteen days, took it, on *August 1*, by an assault, in which the valour of the *English* is highly celebrated. The horses, armes, and rich booty that were taken in the place, with the great number of persons of quality made prisoners, are the subject of a pompous letter, wrote by *John* to the justiciaries, prelates, and nobility of *England* on this occasion; to brag of a success, the advantages whereof could not be very considerable to that nation; whose kings never were, either before or after this event, in the possession of *Montauban*.

THE king of *France* had got intelligence of *John's* treaty with *Guy de Thouars*²; and to prevent its effects, had invaded *Bretagne*; where he had a party ready to declare in his favour: it was by their means he took *Nantes*, and forced *Guy* to a submission. He was scarce returned from this expedition, when he heard of *John's* landing at *Rochelle*; which drew him immediately into *Poitou*: but seeing that prince's army employed in the siege of *Montauban*, he returned to *Paris*, after having fortified *Mirebeau*, *Loudun*, and other places in that province. *John* attacked none of these fortresses, either not thinking it proper to lose time before them, or imagining it of more consequence to re-animate the *Bretons* of his party, by falling into *Anjou*: and marching from *Montauban* to *Angers*, took and burnt the town; wasted all the country about it, as far as *Craon*; and then advanced into the *Païs Nantois*, which he treated in the same manner. ³ In the beginning of *September*, he sat down before *Nantes* itself: but was forced to raise the siege, either by the valour of the *Bretons*, or by the king of *France's* coming with a powerful army into *Poitou*. The *Vicomte de Thouars* had, with his followers, joined the *English* at their landing, and was apprehensive of being attacked: *John* came with his army to protect him and his country, and encamped at *Thouars*. *Philip*, advancing thither, offered him battle; and on its not being accepted, wasted all the viscount's territories; till *John*, whose courage or swaggering seem always much abated at the sight of danger, sent to make him proposals of peace, and to desire a conference on the subject. It was agreed to be held the next day at a place appointed; but instead of ⁴coming thither, *John* seized the opportunity of stealing off with his army, which was grown very sickly, to *Rochelle*; and went from thence to *England*. He had engaged the Pope's mediation in that affair: and notwithstanding *John's* shameful retreat, the religious employed in it by the Pontiff ⁵ prevailed for a two years truce from *Friday, October 13*. When that term expired, the war was renewed again; and the *English* seized *Guerplic*, a strong castle, seated on a rock by the sea side, on the north coast of *Bretagne*, very proper for securing them an entrance with their forces into the country, when their partizans wanted succours: but this place was soon recovered by *Jubael de Mayenne*, seneschal of *Bretagne*, and

¹ *M. Paris.* ² *Gul. Brito*, l. viii. *Rigord.* ³ *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 212. *Rigord.* ⁴ *Rob. de Monte.* ⁵ *Rymer*, i. 141.

the count of *S. Pol*, who came with a strong body of *French* troops to the assistance of the *Britons*. *Philip*, marching at the same time into *Poitou*, took *Parthenay*, with some other castles, which he demolished: and *Hugh de Thouars*, brother to the viscount, with *Henry de Lusignan*, and other *Poitouin* barons that sided with the *English*, being taken prisoners in a rencounter by *Henry Clement*, marshal of *France*, *W. des Roches*, and the viscount of *Melun*, a new truce was concluded by the mediation of *Pope Innocent*; who, notwithstanding his quarrel with *John* at that time, was very desirous of making a peace between the two crowns; that the *French* might not be called off from prosecuting a war of his own, sanctified by the name of a *Croisade*, against the *Albigenses* in *Languedoc*.

LXXII. THERE was one advantage that *John* was sure to gain by every expedition he either made, or pretended to undertake: it always served him for a pretext to extort money from his subjects. At the *Candlemas* after his return from *Poitou*, he held a general council of his prelates and nobility: and demanding a thirteenth part of all rents and moveables throughout the realm, for the defence of the nation and the recovery of his foreign dominions, it was granted him by the latter, in regard to the laity. This tax seems to be a talliage; being assessed by the justiciaries, and levied upon all towns, as well as the tenants of the barons: nor did the ² prelates and clergy escape, being forced at last against their wills to comply, and allow it to be levied also upon their tenants. *Geffrey* archbishop of *York* was the only prelate that chose to run any extremity, rather than consent to such an imposition: and having excommunicated all that should collect it upon the possessions of the clergy in his province, and in general all invaders of ecclesiastical goods, went privately out of the kingdom. The clergy were, by the tenure of their lands since the conquest, obliged to military service, and in defect thereof, to pay a scutage by way of composition: but in all other respects, they had an absolute property in their goods, nor could any tax be laid upon them without their own consent, given either in person, or by their representatives. In the neighbouring realm of *France*, whose constitution originally agreed with ours, this maxim is so religiously observed even to this day, that when deputies are to be chosen to represent the clergy in the general assemblies, held every five years, to make a gift to the king, the rural deans are obliged, within their several districts, to summon every individual incumbent to meet for the choice of their representatives: and if by chance any one clergyman be omitted, he is not bound to pay any thing to the tax granted by the general assembly, but may plead, he was not summoned, in bar of the demand. Whether *Geffrey's* protest against this tax saved the clergy of his province, is not observed by our old writers; who generally agree, that it was actually levied: only the *Annals of Waverley*, taking notice of *Geffrey's* goods being confiscated for the proceeding above related, say, that both the metropolitans of *Canterbury* ³ and *York* remonstrated so strongly against it, as a thing intolerable in itself, and unknown to former ages, that *John* being better advised, was prevailed on to release the exaction entirely.

SUCH a compliance, in a point of money, could hardly be expected from *John*, considering his avarice: and it was as little consistent with that obstinacy of nature, which, at this time and on another occasion, drew him into great inconveniencies. *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying on *Wednesday, July 13, A. D. 1205*, at *Tenham*, was buried the next day at *Christ-church*: and on the very night of his death, before his corpse was interred, ⁴ some young monks of the convent met, and, without any application for a *Congé d'Elire*, chose their sub-prior *Reginald* for his successor; sung *Te Deum* on the occasion; and placed him in the archiepiscopal

JOHN.
A. D. 1206.

A. D. 1207
Taxes in Eng-
land, and dis-
pute about
the choice of
an archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

¹ *Pat. 8* and *9 Joh. m. 3.*
metropolitan of *Canterbury* acknowledged at this time.

² *M. Paris.*

³ It could be only *York*, for there was no

⁴ *Gervaf. col. 1683. M. Paris.*

JOHN. throne at midnight. This was a very irregular and clandestine proceeding; it had
 A. D. 1207. been managed with great secrecy: and their hopes of success depended so much upon the secret's being kept, that *Reginald*, setting out that very night, with some of the monks, for *Rome*, to get his election confirmed, took an oath for that purpose. This obligation soon gave way to his vanity: and he was no sooner arrived in *Flanders*, than he published his promotion; told his business to every body that came in his way; and shewed them the letters of the convent, desiring the Pope's confirmation. When he came to *Rome*, *Innocent* refused to confirm him, till he was better informed of the transaction: and expecting that the election would be litigated, began to take his measures for turning the dispute to his own advantage, and for procuring to his successors an over-ruling power in the promotion of future archbishops of *Canterbury*. The suffragan bishops of that see claimed a right, agreeable to the universal custom of the primitive church, to choose their metropolitan; and the monks of the convent of *Christ-church* pretended to choose the archbishop as their superior: and from the time, that elections had been allowed, *i. e.* from the time of *Henry I*, they had both concurred in the election of the same person, whether named first by the bishops or monks, though some squabbles had happened about the *prior* nomination. The bishops were a body of men, that had the greatest weight of any in the nation: and having generally a great deference to the king's inclinations with regard to the persons they chose, were less fit for the Pope's purpose, and more able, as well as inclined, to oppose the usurpations of the papacy, than a convent, which by its discipline and constitution, had been ever devoted to the see of *Rome*, and professed to it an absolute obedience. As *Reginald's* election had been made without the concurrence of the bishops, the right of election came naturally under his cognizance: and he resolved to determine it, as should be most for his own interest, and that of his successors. With this view, on *December 8*, *A. D. 1205*, he sent a bull to the suffragans of *Canterbury*, pressing them earnestly not to enter into any unnecessary dispute, or give any trouble to the convent: and when they insisted on their right, he determined against them on *December 21*, in the year following; adjudging the right of electing an archbishop of that see, to be vested in the convent of *Christ-church* alone.

THE whole convent had not been convened at *Reginald's* election: and he had been chosen only by the younger monks; who were highly incensed against him, when they found he had divulged their secret, and resolved to set him aside. The graver monks were afraid of the king's displeasure, on account of its being done without a *Congé d'Elire*: and both agreed in applying to *John* for leave to proceed to the choice of a new archbishop. Their request was granted, without being restrained by any condition, or the designation of any particular person; only he told them in private, that of all the prelates in *England*, *John de Grey*, bishop of *Norwich*, had the most of his confidence, and they could not make a choice that would be more agreeable to him, or more advantageous to them and their convent. He sent down some of his chaplains, to sollicite the affair: the bishop of *Norwich* was chosen unanimously in all the forms required by law or custom; and having been approved by the royal assent, was enthroned with the usual solemnity, and put in possession of the temporalities of the archbishoprick. Twelve of the monks went to *Rome*, deputed by the convent, to get this last election confirmed; and the crown bore their expences: but the suffragan bishops sent agents to oppose it, and to complain of its being made without their concurrence. The right of these last being set aside, the merits of the two elections came to be considered. The first was certainly irregular in all respects; but it was still urged, that, let it be never so vicious, illegal, and null in itself, it ought to have been declared so judicially, before the

monks proceeded to a second election; and on this pretence, the latter was involved in the same sentence of nullity with the former. *Innocent's* view was, to bring the church of *England* into an entire subjection to the papacy, and to raise upon it what money he pleased: this could not be done more effectually, than by putting at its head a creature of his own, who would be ever ready to support all his measures for that purpose. The *English* bishops were generally on their guard against papal encroachments: and when one of his predecessors, *Lucius III*, distressed by the *Romans*, applied to them for a supply in his necessities, they got *Henry II* to make him a present of a sum of money for his relief, which they engaged to reimburse, rather than, by making a contribution in their own name, to create a precedent for future exactions. *Innocent*, under the plausible pretence of succouring the *Christians* of the *Holy Land*, and by abusing the zeal of well-meaning pious *Christians* in that particular, not only got a sum of money from the clergy of the church of *England* for that purpose: but laid it upon them, and fixed the rate of the tax by his own usurped authority. This being submitted to in that instance, served as a foundation for the exercise of the like authority and imposing the like taxes on other occasions: nor was it long before he proceeded to exert it for his own private benefit. He had sent over the last year, during the vacancy of the see of *Canterbury*, *John Ferentino*, as his legate to lay other exactions on the church of *England*: and a national synod of the bishops, abbots, archdeacons, and the deputies of the inferior clergy had been called at *St. Albans* for that purpose. ¹ A royal writ, dated *May 26*, did indeed put a stop to their proceedings at that time: but the legate calling another synod at *Reading* ² on *Oct. 19* (whilst *John* was in *Guienne*) got a vast sum of money from the clergy, and marched off with it, before that prince's return to *England*. To prevent any future obstructions in this point, *Innocent*, resolved to take advantage of the present dispute, and to get the see of *Canterbury* filled with a person, that would use all the power of his primacy to execute his orders.

J O H N.
A. D. 1207.

LXXIII. His scheme was to get an archbishop chosen in the court of *Rome*; *Stephen Langton* named which would have been utterly impracticable, had the suffragan bishops retained their right of concurring in the election: but he had paved the way for it, by excluding them from any share in the matter, and had nothing to do, but to engage the twelve monks, deputed by the convent to sollicit the bishop of *Norwich's* confirmation, to elect a person of his own nomination; not doubting but the plenitude of his power would enable him to get over all the irregularity of this proceeding. He recommended to them *Stephen Langton*, a *Roman* cardinal, by birth or descent an *Englishman* ³, but bred up at *Paris*; in which university he had taken the degree of doctor of divinity, and had been admitted to a prebend in that cathedral. In vain did the monks alledge, that they were empowered only to sue for a confirmation of the second election; that their commission gave them no authority to elect an archbishop; and that they durst not attempt it, without the king's consent, and express powers from the convent. The Pope told them, that it was not customary to wait for the prince's consent in the case of elections made in the court of *Rome*: and overruling all their pleas, ordered them peremptorily upon their obedience, and under pain of excommunication, to make choice of *Langton*. *Elias de Brantefield* ⁴ was the onely one of the twelve that stood out against these menaces; all the rest, submitting to the violence put upon them by a Pope, who would have pretended conscience, and set the world in a flame, to have prevented a prince's violating the freedom of an election, concurred in the nomination, rather than the choice, of *Langton*;

¹ Rot. Pat. 8 John, m. 1. Con. M. Brit. t. i. p. 514, 515.

² M. Paris.

³ Rymer, i. 143.

⁴ M. Paris.

JOHN. who was on *Trinity*¹ Sunday, June 17, this year, consecrated by *Innocent* himself at *Viterbo*.
A. D. 1207.

THE Pope must certainly have a very mean opinion of *John*², when he imagined he could reconcile him to such an insult upon his royal prerogative by the present of a few baubles of four stone rings, upon which he made a ridiculous comment, stuffed with emblematical meanings and visionary fancies. He wrote him likewise an artful and courtly letter, recommending *Stephen* to his favour: and sent another to the convent of *Christ-church*, enjoining them upon their obedience to receive *Langton* as their archbishop, and obey him in all things, as well temporal as spiritual. The bishops and nobility of *England* were solicited in other letters to use their good offices for procuring *John's* favour to *Stephen*: but nothing could prevent the effects of his resentment; which appeared immediately in his charging the monks of *Christ-church* with perfidy and treason, and sending *Henry de Cornhelle* and *Fulk de Canteloupe* with a military force to *Canterbury*, to drive them out of the realm, or to hang them up, if they refused to depart. These orders were executed in all their rigour, and the monks, threatened with having their monastery set on fire and being burnt therein, if they did not quit it, went over to *Flanders*; where they were received and maintained in the monasteries of that country. All their effects were seized: the tenants of their farms were either turned out or frightened away, so that their lands lay unoccupied, and some monks of the abbey of *St. Augustine* were put into the convent, that it might not appear desolate. The Pope, in his letter to *John*, had insinuated, that he might bring himself into great inconveniences, if he did not receive *Langton*. This kind of language was not very agreeable to a prince of his temper; and in his answer he put *Innocent* in mind of the advantages which the court of *Rome* received from *England*, more than from all other countries on this side the *Alpes*: and told him with an air of resolution, “that he was unalterably determined to maintain the honour of his crown at any rate, and would not suffer the bishop of *Norwich* to be defeated of his election; that unless he was gratified in that point, he would suffer no appellants or suitors to go to *Rome*, lest the wealth of the realm should be exhausted, and himself disabled to oppose a foreign invasion; and since his own kingdom was well furnished with able and learned prelates, he should not trouble himself to go beyond sea for justice, or sue for it to a foreign judicature.”

THESE menaces were followed with some effects³; all appeals to *Rome* being forbidden and a stop put to the exercise of the papal jurisdiction in *England*. The Pope sent orders to ⁴*William* and *Mauger* bishops of *London* and *Worcester*, both of them *Normans*, and to *Eustace* bishop of *Ely*, to admonish *John* to receive archbishop *Langton* and to restore the monks of *Christ-church*, or in failure thereof to put the kingdom under an interdict. These prelates executed their commission⁵: and the apprehensions of that censure affected *John* so much, that on Jan. 21, he declared to them in writing, he was ready to observe the Pope's orders with a saving to himself and his heirs, of their rights, dignity, and prerogative. Whether this *salvo* was not agreeable to *Innocent's* instructions, or *John's* refusing to deliver the regalia to the new archbishop with his own hand, and to make full restitution of all the goods of the convent and see of *Canterbury*, or ⁶the Pope and *Langton's* insisting on an absolute submission to their own terms, hindered an accommodation, the three bishops, upon Monday⁷ March 24, denounced, by the papal authority, the sentence of an interdict upon the kingdom; and then retired beyond sea, being followed thi-

¹ *Annal. Waverl. Angl. Sacr.* i. 114. ² *M. Paris. Concil. M. Brit.* i. 515, 524. ³ *Annal. Waverl.* ⁴ *M. Paris.* ⁵ *Pat. 9 Joh. m. 3. n. 22.* ⁶ *Pat. 9 Joh. m. 2. n. 15.* ⁷ *Annal. Waverl. Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. in Angl. Sacr.* i. 639.

ther by the bishops of *Bath* and *Hereford*. Thus was a stop put at once to divine service, to publick prayers, to processions, to the administration of the sacraments, except as to the baptism of infants: the church doors were shut up every where; marriages were celebrated, and women churched in the church yards; and the dead were buried in ditches and high-ways, without the usual rites of the church or a funeral solemnity. This was intended to make an impression on the minds of the common people, whom however the Pope thought fit to indulge in their superstitious¹ adoration of the cross on *Good Friday*, when it was allowed to be brought out of the church for that purpose; and in their extreme fondness for wakes; the churches being to be opened for prayers on the anniversary feasts of their dedication. *John*, incensed at this interdict, ordered all the prelates, and their abettors that observed it, to depart the kingdom²: and seized the lands and revenues of their sees, abbeys, and benefices; allowing them only a slender maintenance out of their own estates. But this order was never executed in all its rigour³, and was soon recalled: the clergy however were sufficiently distressed, by having their barn doors locked up, their wives imprisoned, till they paid fines for their liberty; and by not being able to obtain redress upon any complaint of injustice or ill usage. The interdict was observed by all the religious houses, except those of the *Cistercian* order; who presuming upon their privileges, said constantly divine service with their church-doors open: the bishops also of *Winchester* and *Norwich* slighted it⁴; abundance of the parochial clergy continued to officiate in their respective functions; nor did there want some divines of learning and figure, that openly in their sermons maintained the royal cause and the invalidity or injustice of the interdict.

JOHN.
A. D. 1207.

LXXIV. JOHN was not so much affected with this censure, as he was apprehensive of being excommunicated by name⁵, and of the Pope's absolving all his vassals and subjects from their oaths of allegiance. To prevent the ill effects of those measures, whenever they should be taken, he sent officers attended by companies of armed men to the most considerable of his nobility, of whom he had any suspicion, to demand of them their sons, or nearest relations, as hostages for their future fidelity. They generally complied with his demand, and gave their children or heirs for hostages: but when *John's* messengers came to make the like demand of *William de Braouse*, a nobleman of great power in the marches of *Wales*, and lord of *Brecknockshire*, his lady not waiting to hear his sentiments, told them plainly, "she would never trust her sons to their master *John*, who had so basely murdered his nephew *Arthur*." The husband gave an answer full of respect and professions of duty; but delivered no hostages: and *John* was so provoked at the reproach thrown upon him by the lady, that he sent a body of troops to seize *William*; who thereupon fled with his wife, children, and relations to *Ireland*.

A. D. 1208.
John's measures to guard against other censures.

THE emperor *Otto*, much concerned at the situation of his uncle's affairs⁶, pressed him earnestly to make up matters with the Pope; and prevailed with his brother *Henry* duke of *Saxony* to go to *England* soon after *Christmas*, and recommend more effectually that advice: but *Henry* succeeded only in getting a pension of a thousand marks a year to himself, and a considerable sum of money for his brother's service. *John* pursuing his scheme for preventing any insurrection or disturbance in *England*, in case the Pope should proceed to the extremities he threatened, thought it proper to adjust all points in difference with *William* king of *Scotland*, to deprive the discontented part of his subjects of all hopes of assistance from that quarter. The

A. D. 1209

¹ *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 526. ² *Chron. Dunstable.* See *Pat.* 9 *John*. n. 11. ³ *Claus.* 9 *John*. m. 3. m. 10. d. ⁴ See *Rot. Claus.* 9 *John*. m. 3. 5. ⁵ *M. Paris.* ⁶ *M. Paris.* *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 527. *Rymer*, i. 154.

JOHN. restoring of *Berwick* to that prince had made him master of a passage over the *Twede*; which the *Scots* made use of to commit depredations in *Northumberland*: it was to prevent their inroads, that *John* had, a few years before, given orders for building a fortress at *Twedemouth*, opposite to that place, on the *English* side of the river. This was twice attempted in different years¹: and the *Scots* had as often surprized the guards; put them and the workmen to the sword; and demolished what had been erected. This was one occasion of dispute: and *William* had aggravated the difference by giving shelter and countenance in his dominions to some male-contents and refugees, that had either been banished, or forced by their offences to fly out of *England*. *John* advancing with a great army to the castle of *Norham* in *Northumberland*; *William* posted himself with another at *Roxburg*, to prevent his wasting the borders of *Scotland*: but not caring to hazard a battle, a treaty was set on foot, which ended in a peace; by which *John* consenting that the castle he was erecting at *Twedemouth*² should be demolished, and never fortified again, *William* engaged to pay him fifteen thousand marks, and delivered to him his daughters *Margaret* and *Isabel* to be married to *Henry* and *Richard*, *John's* two sons, when they came to be of a proper age for matrimony. *Fordun* adds, that the two kings came at this time to a further agreement, that the fealty and homage due from the kings of *Scotland*, for the lands which they held of the crown of *England*, should be paid for the future, not by the possessor, but by the heir of the crown of *Scotland*; and that, in consequence thereof, *William* made a formal resignation of these lands to *John*; who investing the prince of *Scotland* with them, *Alexander* swore fealty, and did homage for them at *Alnewick*. This was done before *June* 28; when *John* set out on his return southward: and soon after obliged all his vassals and freeholders, with their sons of the age of twelve years or upwards, to do him homage in the same manner; and this was complied with so universally, that the *Welsh* came to him at *Wodestoke* to pay theirs; which they had never done, at least so generally, before.

JOHN seems to have considered money, cruelty, and terror, as the chief instruments of government; at least of one like his, founded only on usurpation: and to have had no notion of gaining the hearts of a people by good usage, popular acts, and the lenity of his administration. The gentry of the kingdom, ever fond of game, and of the diversions it afforded them³, could not easily digest being debarred thereof in a great measure by the prohibition now issued against hawking, setting, and fowling: nor could the farmers, who suffered from another of his orders, avoid repining at his causing all the mounds and hedges of his forests to be levelled, and the ditches about them to be filled up, that his deer might range at free liberty, crop their corn, and destroy the fruits in the neighbourhood. This was not very politick, at a time when he expected the Pope's censures; and all that the abbot of ⁴*Beaulieu* (a monastery of *Cistercians*, which he had lately founded within the new forest in *Hampshire*, as part of the penance enjoined him by archbishop *Hubert*, to atone for *Arthur's* murder) could do at *Rome*, where he resided as his ambassador, was scarce sufficient to procure the delay of the sentence, denouncing him an excommunicate. It was followed by an act of great injustice and cruelty, in respect of the particular persons that suffered: and which in those days could not fail of raising a general clamour, as being an infringement of those ecclesiastical liberties, which were then by law established. A clergyman, following his studies at *Oxford*, had the misfortune of killing a woman by mere accident: and when he saw she was dead, fled away to avoid prosecution. The mayor of the city, running with others to the place where she was killed, found her body, but not the homicide; and three other clergymen living

¹ *Fordun*, l. vi. p. 733. *M. Paris.*
Annal. Baron. t. xiii. p. 87.

² *Rymer*, i. 155.

³ *M. Paris.*

⁴ *Rainal. Contin.*

in the same house with him, which they had joined in hiring for the convenience of their studies, were taken up, and put in prison, though they knew nothing at all of the murder. *John*, hating the clergy, and glad of any pretence to wreak his spleen upon them, sent in a few days orders, that they should be carried out of town and hanged; in contempt not only of the privileges of the clergy, but of the laws of the land, which allow no persons to be condemned to death, without a previous trial. This arbitrary and tyrannical act made near three thousand scholars, as well masters as students, quit *Oxford* immediately, and retire either to *Cambridge*, *Reading*, or *Paris*¹, so that the former university was left in a manner empty.

THE abbot of *Beaulieu* had, in his negotiation at *Rome*, agreed to several proposals of an accommodation: but *John* had still made some objection to them, and had not ratified any that were settled with *Innocent*. A treaty at such a distance being too slow and dilatory for the *Pope's* impatience to exert his power, he gave his instructions to the bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, for settling the terms of peace²: and *John*, when he was setting out on his *Scotch* expedition, had sent a safe-conduct for their coming over, and had appointed some prelates and noblemen to treat with them at *Canterbury*. They agreed upon articles; which being drawn up in writing, were signed in form: and a sum of an hundred pounds was given to each of those prelates, as well as to the archbishop and the bishop of *Hereford*, as an earnest of the restitution of their manors. One of these articles, requiring every thing that had been taken away to be restored to all ecclesiasticks, *John* excepted to it: and the prelates, peremptorily refusing to recede from that or any other of them, went back again, but respited the sentence against his person, till a week after *Michaelmas*. The negotiation was then carried on with *Langton* himself, who came to *Dover* on *October 2*, upon a safe-conduct, which was religiously observed: and *John* coming to *Chilham*, sent *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, and other great men, to propose to him several articles, which he absolutely rejected, and went back much dissatisfied. He was afterwards sent for again, and four thousand marks deposited in the hands of the knights templars, till full restitution was made him; but he would not come: ³ and the three bishops, delegated by the *Pope* in this cause, denounced, in *November*, the sentence of excommunication against *John's* person. It was published in *France*, but not in *England*; though to make *John* avoided by all the world, they wrote to several bishops and abbots to have it published every *Sunday* and holiday in all conventual churches throughout the kingdom; no body caring to execute their orders. The sentence however being known, *Geffrey* archdeacon of *Norwich*, a baron of the exchequer, talking about it with his associates upon the bench, told them it was not safe for beneficed persons to continue in the service of an excommunicated prince; and accordingly departed without license. *John*, upon notice of this affair, sent *W. Talbot*, with a party, to seize and put him in prison; where he was kept in bonds, and after a few days having a leaden cope clapped upon him, the archdeacon died soon after, either through the intolerable weight of this cope, or by the want of victuals. Others were alarmed on the same occasion: and *Hugh* archdeacon of *Wells*, *John's* chancellor, being chosen bishop of *Lincoln*⁴, and having leave to go abroad to the archbishop of *Rothen* for consecration, went to the abbey of *Pontigny*, and received it from *Stephen Langton*, to whom he made his profession of canonical obedience. *John* thereupon seized the revenue of his see, and made *Walter de Grey* his chancellor; proceeding with such severity against all that seemed to pay any deference to the censure (which not being published in *England*, did not require or deserve their notice) that there was scarce ever known a fuller assembly of nobility, than attended him, when he kept his *Christmas* at *Windsor*.

¹ *Chr. Mailros.* ² *Annal. Waverl.* *Chron. Dunstaple.* ³ *M. Paris.* *Chron. Dunstaple.* ⁴ *M. Paris.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1210.
Expeditions
to Ireland and
Wales, and
taxes in Eng-
land.

LXXV. THERE were at this time, through the vacancy of sees and the absence of prelates, not above two or three bishops left in *England*:¹ and whether the laity consented in this assembly to any grant of money, it was undoubtedly by mere violence that *John* extorted from the clergy, as he took from the others, large sums, under the pretence of an attempt to recover *Normandie*. The monasteries of the *Benedictins* and canons, the templars² and hospitallers, are said to have paid their fines for this aid at *Easter*: that of the priory of *Dunstable* was twenty marks, and it seems to have been levied, not at a stated rate, like a regular tax, but rather by way of composition, as in the case of extraordinary demands of the crown. It would have appeared very strange, if *John*, in the midst of his exactions, had spared the *Jews*³, whose oppression would occasion no clamour: their persons were treated with great cruelty; their houses, lands, effects, and securities for money were seized throughout the realm; and vast sums must have been levied upon them, since *M. Paris* observes, that no less than ten thousand marks were extorted from one of them at *Bristol*. The *Annals of Waverley* compute the gross sum at sixty-six thousand marks: and *John* having in this manner provided money for a royal expedition, marched through *South-Wales* with a great army; and landed, ⁴ on *June 6*, in *Ireland*. When he came to *Dublin*, above twenty of the *Irish* toparchs or chieftains of septs, waited upon him, swore fealty, and did homage: but some others disdain- ing to do so, as thinking themselves safe in their inaccessible fastnesses,⁵ he was put to the trouble of marching against *Cathol* king of *Connaught*, whose country he reduced. To civilize the people, and establish good order in the nation, he enjoined the laws and customs of *England* to be there observed, appointing sheriffs and other officers to judge and govern according to those laws: and *John Grey* bishop of *Norwich*, being made justiciary, caused the money to be new coined, in order to make it of the same weight with that of *England*, for the convenience of traffick between the two kingdoms. There was another thing he had much at heart; it was the taking revenge upon *Hugh de Lacy* (⁶ to whom, for his treacherous seizing of *John de Courcy*, he had given the earldom of *Ulster*) and his elder brother, *Walter Lacy*, lord of *Meath*, for their protecting *W. de Brause*, father-in-law to *Walter*; who either for an immense debt to the crown, or for not giving hostages for his fidelity, had fled into *Ireland*. This drew him with his forces into *Ulster* and *Meath*; where he took several of their castles⁷, drove *Hugh* out of the country, and forced *Walter* to abjure the realm: but *W. de Brause* made his escape into *France*, dying not long after at *Paris*. This nobleman's wife *Maude de S. Valery*, with his elder son *William*, having escaped out of a castle in *Meath*, where they were besieged, into *Galloway*⁸, were there seized by *Duncan de Carrick*: and delivered up to *John*, who kept them in close prison till they died, as it is said, of famine.

DURING this *Irish* expedition, another had been undertaken into *Wales*⁹ by *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, the chief justiciary, the bishop of *Winchester*, and the earl of *Chester*. All their achievements in it were the fortifying of three castles¹⁰, which seem to be those of *Buelt*, *Treffynnon*, or *S. Winifred*, and *Dyganwy*; but it served for a pretence to a scutage, the ransom whereof cost fourteen marks to the priory of *Dunstable*. Two different exactions or payments in the same year, did not satisfy *John's* avarice or animosity against the regular clergy. Having settled the affairs of *Ireland* to his mind, he left that country, landing in *Wales* on *August 30*:¹¹ and making haste to *London*, convened an assembly of all the abbots, priors, abbesses,

¹ *Annal. Waverl.*² *Chron. Dunstable.*³ *Chron. Mailros.*⁴ *M. Paris.*⁵ *Trivet.*⁶ *Rymor*, i. 162.⁷ *Dugdale Baronag.* c. i. p. 416, &c.*Annal. Margam.*⁸ *Chron. Dunstable.*⁹ *M. Paris.*¹⁰ *Chron. Dunstable.*¹¹ *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 262, 263.¹² *M. Paris.*

templars,

templars, hospitallers, guardians of the *Cluniac*, and other foreign religious orders, ^{JOHN.} and put them all to so heavy a ranfome or composition, that the sum he squeezed ^{A. D. 1210.} from them amounted to an hundred thousand pounds sterling. He was more particularly incensed ¹ against the *Cistercians*, as well because they had absolutely refused to contribute, with other religious, to the first exaction, before he went to *Ireland*; as because they pleaded the privileges granted by Popes to their order, to justify this refusal: and extorted from them above thirty-three thousand marks; a sum so excessive, that several of their houses were reduced to beggary, and the monks were forced to disperse into the monasteries of the *Benedictins* and *Canons* to get subsistence. Two only of their convents were by special grace exempted from this exaction (*viz.*) those of *Margam* ² in *Glamorganshire*, where *John* had been entertained in his way to *Ireland*, and return thence; and of *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*, as being of his own foundation. ³ They were likewise debarred of all correspondence with the rest of their order abroad; no *English Cistercian* being allowed to cross the sea, nor any foreign ones to come into *England*.

THIS particular prohibition was soon followed by one more general; an embargo ^{A. D. 1211.} being laid upon all the ports, to prevent all persons from going abroad, or coming into *England*, without license. Not long after came out a ⁴ proclamation of a different tenour; requiring all bishops and ecclesiasticks, sojourning in foreign parts, and having revenues in *England*, to return into the kingdom within a fortnight after *Midsummer*, or else all their rents would be confiscated. A commission ⁵ was likewise issued for enquiring into the incumbents of all livings, and by whose gift and presentation they enjoyed them: it was probably the return made by the commissioners, which produced an order for banishing all that had been presented either by *Stephen Langton* since his papal consecration, or by the exiled bishops since their going abroad, and for seizing their benefices. *John* had some time before forbidden the holding of any pleas, or the exercise of any jurisdiction by the papal authority in *England*: but it looks as if this had not put a stop to that practice, since he found it necessary to renew his prohibition under severer penalties, and on pain of corporal punishment.

IN the midst of these provisions against the *Pope's* attacks upon his authority ⁶, *John* laid a talliage, in the beginning of *Lent*, upon all the clergy of *England*; perhaps to prepare for an expedition he was obliged to make into *Wales*, to repress or revenge some incursions made into the borders of *England*: he assembled for it a great army on *July 8*, at *Osweestre*. *Llewellyn* prince of ⁷ *North-Wales*, unable to oppose so great a force, caused all the inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintshire* to remove, with their cattle and effects, into the mountainous tract of *Snowdun* in *Caernarvonshire*: and when the *English* were advanced along the sea coast, as far as *Conway*, he infested all the roads with light parties so continually, that they were obliged to retire for want of provisions. *John* soon remedied that defect: and having increased his forces, returned again to *Conway*; burnt *Bangor*; and made such havock in the country, that *Llewellyn* was forced to send his wife *Jane* (*John's* natural daughter) to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon paying, instead of money, twenty thousand head of cattle, and forty horses towards the charges of the war, doing homage, and delivering hostages for assurance of his fidelity. Thus *John* ⁸ returned from his campaign in triumph, on *August 15*, to *Whitchurch*; and levied a scutage of two marks a fee, upon all knights that had not attended him in the expedition.

¹ *M. Paris.* *Annal. Waverl.* ² *Annal. Margam.* ³ *Annal. Waverl.* ⁴ *Ib. Trivet.* ⁵ *Chron. Dunstable.* ⁶ *Annal. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sac.* i. 481. *M. Paris.* ⁷ *Petvel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 264. *Chr. J. Abb. Petriburg.* *Annal. Margam.* ⁸ *M. Paris.*

JOHN. ON his return thence, *John* convened a council of his temporal nobility (supposing them probably more likely to side with him than the spiritual) on *Tuesday, August 30*, at *Northampton*¹, in order to a treaty with *Pandulf*, a *Roman* subdeacon, and *Durand*, a knight templar, who had come into *England* in the last week of *July*; being sent at his instances, by the Pope, as his nuncios, to settle the terms of an accommodation in the dispute between the regale and pontificate. It was easily agreed, that *Langton* should be received as archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that the exiled bishops and clergy might return in peace, and be all put in possession of their respective dignities and revenues: but the nuncios insisting on a full restitution of all that had been seized of their rents², *John*, elated with his late success, and seeing all bow before him in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, absolutely rejected that condition; and they returned to *France* without doing any thing, besides publicly declaring him excommunicate. The authors of the *Annals of Waverley* and *Burton* have drawn up, with some variations, a formal dialogue of what passed in this treaty, representing it in a single conference,³ whereas there were undoubtedly several; the one placing it in the next, the other in this year: but as it contains things, which happened afterwards, and of such a nature, that they cannot be supposed to be any part of the nuncios' commission, it seems to be their own composition; no other author mentioning any other particular than is already related, unless it be their threatening *John* with the ill consequences of his obstinacy. He was not yet without hopes of adjusting matters with the Pope on more favourable terms, than the nuncios demanded: and sent back with them some of his chaplains to make the experiment.

A. D. 1212.

The Pope absolves *John's* subjects of their oaths, and invites all princes to attack him.

LXXVI. *JOHN* saw as yet no reason to be afraid of the Pope; the interdict had continued near four years, without any dangerous consequences; the insinuations or menaces of further proceedings had no effect upon him, whilst he saw himself obeyed, even in his most odious, oppressive, and arbitrary measures, by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours. He had, on *February 2*, a conference at *Durham*⁴, and renewed his league with *William* king of *Scotland*; who sent his eldest son *Alexander*, being in his fourteenth year, to receive knighthood from his hands: and the ceremony was performed on *Midlent Sunday, March 4*, at *Clerkenwell*, in *London*. *Alan*, son of *Roland*, lord of *Galloway*, and, in right of his wife the sister and heir of *William de Morville*, hereditary constable of *Scotland*, had attended the king of this country to the conference: and did homage to *John* for the large tract of country he had given him in the north of *Ireland*. *John* thought himself so well established in the throne, that he ventured to make a⁵ general inquisition into the demesnes of the crown, as possessed by his predecessors, and to examine in what manner, and on what occasion, any of them had been alienated; who held them at present, and by what services. An enquiry of this nature was dangerous at all times; it had in the reign of his father, the justest and most merciful prince of his age, alarmed all the great men and military tenants of the crown to such a degree, that many of them revolted on that account: and after the experience they now had of *John's* little regard to justice, of his arbitrary exactions, rapaciousness, and cruelty, it could not but make them apprehensive of the loss of their estates, through some pretended flaw in their title, which violence would render effectual. A general terror and expectation of being stripped of their lands, could not fail of producing a general discontent; at a time when *John* had foreign enemies enough upon his hands, and ought, in good policy, to have taken care above all things to be well with his own subjects. The Pope, irritated at his not complying with the terms of peace proposed

¹ *M. Paris. Annal. Margam. Trivet. Annal. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sacr. i. 481. Annal. Waverl.*

² *Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.*

³ *Chron. T. Wikes.*

⁴ *For dun. M. Paris.*

⁵ *Annal. Waverl.*

by his nuncios, and finding little satisfaction from *John's* agents, or having no confidence in his promises¹, had proceeded to measures of violence: and absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had ordered all persons whatever to avoid him, and to have no communication at all with him, either at table, in council, or in common conversation, under pain of excommunication. This scandalous exercise of a pretended papal power was followed by letters to the king of *France*, and other princes, exhorting them to fall upon *John's* territories, and to distress him, as an enemy to the church, by all means in their power. He wrote among others to *Llewellyn*, prince of *North-Wales*², pressing him to invade *England*: and by way of encouragement to that enterprize, he absolved him from the homage and oaths he had taken at the late peace, and released his country from the interdict, in which it had hitherto been included.

JOHN.
A. D. 1212.

LLEWELLYN was vexed at a peace³, in which he had been forced to make a cession of the shires of *Flint* and *Denbigh*: and getting the most considerable of the *Welsh* princes and barons to join with him in executing the Pope's commands, fell with his forces into the *English* marches, and took several castles; putting the knights and gentlemen that defended them to the sword; burning towns, and carrying off a great booty. The castles of *Diganwy* in *Denbighshire*⁴, *Ruthlan* in *Flintshire*, and *Mathraval* in *Powis*, still remained in the *English* hands: but the last and weakest of these, lately built by *John de Viepont*, was actually besieged; when *John* levying a great army of his knights and military tenants, marched to its relief. The *Welsh* prince, upon advice of his march, raised the siege: and *John* having given orders to dismantle the place, as not worth the keeping, went to *Nottingham*. He had there fresh accounts of *Llewellyn's* incursions into the borders of *England*, of the ravages he made, and the cruelty he exercised upon his prisoners: and in a rage ordered all the hostages, delivered to him at the late peace, being the most considerable of the *Welsh* nobility, to be put to death, to the number of twenty-eight or thirty-two, as different writers relate. He was meditating another expedition into *Wales*, with a resolution to exterminate the inhabitants, when he received letters from the king of *Scotland*, giving him notice of a dangerous conspiracy formed against him: and others came at the same time from his natural daughter, the wife of *Llewellyn*, with the like intelligence. He could not help being alarmed at these accounts, coming from distant countries, yet agreeing in their tenour; and shut himself up for a fortnight⁵ in the castle of *Nottingham*, giving none admittance: but making no further discovery, he still persisted in his intended enterprize, and advanced to *Chester*. Here he was again surprized with fresh letters and messengers, dissuading him earnestly from marching further; and assuring him that if he did so, his ruin was unavoidable, and he would either be killed by the nobility in his own army, or else be betrayed to the enemy. This threw him into a great consternation: and being informed at the same time, that all his vassals and subjects had been absolved from their oaths of allegiance, he gave the more credit to this intelligence; dismissed his forces; and returned to *London*.

JOHN had never kept any measures with his nobility⁶; he had debauched the wives and daughters of several: and others, whose families were not thus dishonoured, he had ruined in their fortunes, impoverishing them by taxes; seizing their estates, and banishing their persons. This had caused a general discontent among them, nor could an inglorious reign, disgraced by a continued series of ill success abroad, and of oppressions at home, fail of raising a like spirit in the commonalty. *John* had not, either by the qualities of his mind, or by the equity of his conduct, any title to their esteem or affections: and having usurped the throne, had

¹ *M. Paris. Triust. Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.* ² *Annal. Waverl.* ³ *M. Paris.* ⁴ *Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 267.* ⁵ *Annal. Margam. Annal. Waverl.* ⁶ *M. Paris.*

JOHN. as little right to their obedience. They despised his person, whilst they dreaded his power: and wanting only an opportunity to throw off his yoke, they were delighted with the news of the *Pope's* having absolved them from their oaths of allegiance; the only obligations of honour or religion, which could tempt them to stand by a government founded in injustice. They made little doubt, but the *Pope* would pursue his blow, and find means to send an army to their relief, either by raising one for a *Croisade* against *John*, or by getting the king of *France* to invade *England*. *Simon de Montfort* was at this time general of a *Croisade* against the *Albigenses*, and by an uninterrupted course of amazing victories over the count of *Toulouse* and the king of *Arragon*, had gained a prodigious reputation in the world, and was universally deemed an hero. It was generally expected, that the *Pope* would send him over with his victorious forces: and hence arose the current report, mentioned in the *Annals of Dunstaple*, that the male-content barons had pitched upon him to be king of *England*. But as that general had not yet finished the war in *Languedoc*, *M. Paris* seems to have more reason on his side, when he says, they applied to *Philip* king of *France*, and sent a formal association in writing under their seals; inviting that prince over to take the crown, and assuring him of their resolution to join his forces, whenever he should land in the kingdom.

JOHN, fully persuaded of the conspiracy, knew not upon whom to fix it; and in this uncertainty, took up some that were about his person¹, and used to be most intimate with him; required all the nobles he suspected, to send him their sons, nephews, or nearest relations, as hostages for their fidelity; and when he had got these into his hands, took their castles likewise into his own custody. When people are taken up on mere suspicion, the innocent are always confounded with the guilty. Of the first sort were *Stephen Ridel*, who had lately been keeper of the great seal, and *Geffrey de Norwich*, one of *John's* chaplains², the first of which, after being confined for some time, was banished; and the other died in prison at *Bristol*. Of the latter sort, were *Robert Fitz Walter* (whose beautiful daughter *Maude*, *John* tried in vain to debauch, and, vexed at his disappointment, is said to have poisoned) and *Eustace de Vesce*; who being the chief promoters of the conspiracy, thought it their best way to fly the kingdom: the former taking refuge in *France*, the latter in *Scotland*. Their lands being seized, *John* sent an hundred of their knights, and of those of the exiled prelates, into *Poitou*, as well to keep them out of the realm, as to assist his friends in that country; taking ten marks a knight's fee from the rest that staid at home, as a composition for their not going on the expedition: he demolished also *Castle Baynard* in *London*, and that of *Benington* belonging to *Robert*; and destroyed his woods in *Essex*. *John*, confirmed in his suspicions by the flight of these noblemen, grew so extremely afraid of some design against his person, that he never stirred abroad without a guard: ³ and sent for a body of cross-bow men from abroad; choosing rather to trust to the mercenary service of foreigners, than to the fidelity of his subjects, of whom he had so ill deserved.

He took however some steps, in hopes of recovering the good-will of his people: ⁴ and as if the high sheriffs had been the authors, as well as instruments, of all their oppressions, he made an inquisition into the conduct of those officers, whose power, and the large sums, which they usually in those days gave for their posts, disposed them generally to be corrupt in the exercise thereof: and some of them were taken up, whilst others, conscious of their own iniquity, fled to avoid prosecution. This was agreeable to the people, generally pleased with the punishment of their oppressors; though they find no relief by it: some however they did receive

¹ *M. Paris. Chron. Dunstaple. Chron. J. Petriburg.* ² *Monast. Angl. t. i. p. 76. Chron. Dunstaple.*
³ *Chron. J. Petriburg. Amal. Waverley.* ⁴ *Chron. Dunstaple. Walter de Coventry.*

from a like examination into the behaviour of the foresters, from whose exactions they had greatly suffered; the fines imposed by them being remitted, and all officers of the forests obliged to swear, that they would not, for the future, exact more than had been usually paid in the time of *Henry II.* Several imposts had been lately laid upon the sea ports, under pretence of guarding them against foreign enemies; these being new and uncommon, had raised a clamour, and were likewise remitted. In these, and in some other points, *John* affected to appear very compassionate to the oppressed; receiving favourably the petitions of widows, and other poor distressed people: but this was so contrary to the constant tenour of his former behaviour, that it was generally ascribed to policy, and to the fears he had in the precarious situation of his affairs.

To provide still further against the dangers that threatened him, ¹ he sent new agents to *Rome*, to make an accommodation with the *Pope*, upon the terms demanded the last year by the nuncios: and for fear a restitution should be demanded of all the ecclesiastical goods he had seized unjustly, and extorted by violence, he ² required the *Cistercians*, the abbots and convents of other religious orders, and the secular clergy, to give him acquittances of all the sums of money he had exacted of them, from the day of his first coronation, to the 8th of *September* in this year; a demand which they durst not refuse. In the instruments signed for this purpose, they declared, that what sums of money they had paid out of their lands and goods to *John*, either at or without his request, or in any other manner whatever, had been their own free gift and voluntary contribution; and ought not to be termed exactions or extortions; nor would they ever demand them back; and that they signed those writings in testimony thereof, and of their free and unconstrained benevolence. This proved of some service to him, as it kept those sufferers from demanding restitution; for though after his reconciliation³, *Innocent* declared, all grants, agreements, and promises made him by the regular or secular clergy, in relation to what had been taken or extorted from them since the interdict, to be null: and directed as well the authors thereof to be excommunicated, as that, in case the injured would not demand restitution, it should still be paid back, for the relief of the *Holy Land*, yet it doth not appear that this bull ever had any effect.

In case the way of negotiation should not succeed, by the *Pope's* insisting on higher terms than he had demanded before, *John* took care to fortify himself by foreign alliances, particularly ⁴ with his nephew, the emperor *Otho*; whom he had fed from time to time with subsidies, and now in his distress, expected from him all the succours, that either he or his vassals could furnish. These were promised, but it doth not appear that they were actually sent: and he received more effectual services from ⁵ *Renaud de Dammartin*, count of *Boulgne* and *Mortain*, a man of parts, restless, turbulent, and intriguing; who having fortified the latter of those places, lying on the frontier of *Normandie* towards *Bretagne*, and laid up great magazines there; had become suspected to *Philip*; and being summoned to answer for his conduct, had fled first to *Theobald* count of *Bar*, and then to the imperial court, for refuge. This nobleman being retained in *John's* service, by a grant of three hundred pounds a year in land, found means to engage *Theobald* in it, with his son *Henry*⁶, the duke of *Limbourg*, and *William* count of *Hollande*; the last of which was to furnish twenty-five knights, and five hundred or a thousand gentlemen on demand, and in consideration of a yearly pension of four hundred marks payable at the exchequer. *Ferrand* count of *Flanders*, was a son of *Sancho* king of *Portugal*; and had by the king of *France's* favour, married *Jane*, daughter and heir of *Baldwin*, count of that province, which, in her right, had been put into his pos-

¹ *Chron. 2. Pet. 2. 157.* *Rymer*, i. 165.

² *Annal. Haverl. Chron. Dio. 157.*

³ *Rymer*, i. 168.

⁴ *Ib.* 156, 157, 164, 165.

⁵ *Trivet.*

⁶ *Rymer*, i. 159, 162, 164, 169.

JOHN. session. *Henry* duke of *Lovain* or *Brabant*, had likewise lately married *Mary* of *France*, the relict of *Philip* count of *Namur*, and had a promise from that king of being restored to some lands, which he claimed in *England*, if his enterprize on this country succeeded. Notwithstanding these great and recent obligations, the count of *Boulogne* persuaded both these princes to enter into a league with *John*: and coming himself over into *England*, with the count of *Hollande*, and *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, did homage to him for his grants, as all the others did, for their annuities.

He deposes *John*, who resigns his crown to him, and becomes his vassal.

LXXVII. *JOHN* stood in need of all the alliances he could make to oppose the designs of his enemies. *Mauger* bishop of *Worcester* dying on *July* 1, ² at *Pontigny*, the two surviving bishops of *London* and *Ely*, and cardinal *Langton* who resided in that abbey, growing impatient of so long an exile, or perhaps incited by the king of *France*, set out for *Rome* to sollicite the Pope, to proceed without further delay to extremities: and made such a representation of the condition of the church of *England*, and the hatred of the nobility to *John*, that *Innocent* thought he might take the most odious and violent measures, without any danger of a disappointment. Nothing could be more so, than his deposing *John* in a council of cardinals and prelates; declaring the throne of *England* vacant, and writing to the king of *France*, to undertake the execution of his sentence, for the remission of his sins, and having expelled the deposed prince, to unite that kingdom to *France*, and keep it to himself and his heirs for ever. He published also a *Croisade* against *John*, as well in *France*, as in other parts of *Europe*; exhorting the nobility, gentry, and all able to bear armes, to march under the banner of *Philip*, to drive out a persecutor of the church; granting them the same indulgences, as were given to those, that went on expeditions to the *Holy Land*; and appointing *Pandulf* his legate *a latere*, to see the sentence executed.

THE legate, before his departure from *Rome*, desiring instructions for his conduct, *Innocent*, on *March* 1, allowed him to make peace with *John* upon the following conditions³. “ I. *John* was to swear to stand to the Pope’s mandates, “ signified by the legate, in all matters, for which he had been excommunicated. “ II. He was to receive archbishop *Langton*, the bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, “ *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Euslance de Vescei*, and all others, both “ clergy and laity, concerned in this affair, into his favour, and to allow the bishops “ to exercise their functions and jurisdiction without interruption. III. He was “ to confirm these things by his letters patent, and to procure as many bishops and “ barons, as *Langton* and the bishops should require to swear and sign charters for “ the observance of the articles; and in case of a violation, that they should adhere “ to the Pope’s mandates against those that broke them, and *John* was to forfeit for “ ever all his claim to the custody of sees and churches during their vacancy. “ IV. If he could not get the bishops and barons to swear to this last article of “ obeying the Pope’s orders, *John* was, by his letters patent, to mortgage his “ right of patronage in all the churches of *England*, as a security for the perform- “ ance of his engagements. V. The letters for the prelates security, were to be “ sent them before their coming into *England*: and if he pleased, they were to “ take an oath, that they would not, by themselves or others, attempt any thing to “ his or the crown’s prejudice. VI. Full restitution was to be made, as well of all “ liberties, that had been invaded, as of every thing that had been taken away; and “ a sufficient satisfaction for all damages, to all, whether clergy or laity, concerned “ in this affair; to *Langton* and the bishop of *Lincoln*, from the time of their con- “ secration, to the others from the beginning of the dispute. VII. No covenant,

¹ *Cron. Dunstable.*

² *M. Paris.*

³ *Rymer*, i. 165, 166, 167.

“ promise, or grant was to hinder this restitution and reparation, with regard either
 “ to the dead or living; and no part thereof retained, on account of services al-
 “ ledged to be owing; which however might be afterwards recovered. VIII. All
 “ the clergy and laity, imprisoned on this occasion, were to be released. IX. As
 “ soon as the legate arrived in *England*, eight thousand pounds were to be remitted
 “ in part of restitution to the exiled prelates, for paying their debts, and defraying
 “ the expences of their return thither in an honourable manner: and when the
 “ peace was settled, their agents were to be put in immediate possession of their
 “ goods and temporalties. X. The homages which *John* had received from their
 “ vassals since the interdict, were to be released; all outlawries against clergymen
 “ and laymen, on account of this affair, were to be reversed: and he was not for
 “ the future to issue any outlawry against the clergy. XI. If any dispute should
 “ arise, about the quantity or valuation of the damages and seizures, it was to be
 “ determined by the legate; and if in any other case, where he should be at a loss
 “ to determine, it was to be referred to the Pope’s decision. If *John* did not sub-
 “ mit to these conditions, before the first of *July*, the legate was to return imme-
 “ diately.”

JOHN.
 A. D. 1213.

LANGTON and his two suffragans, having carried their point¹ at *Rome*, in getting a papal sentence for deposing *John*, hastened, in the beginning of the year, back to *France* to publish it, and to push on *Philip* to the execution of a detestable decree; derogatory to the majesty of kings, and which they would all, for their common interest, join in opposing, did not some particulars find in it their private advantage. *Philip*, knowing how odious *John* was to the nobility of *England*, and imagining that the general discontent, which reigned in the country, would make it an easy conquest, had formed the design, from the time that the Pope had absolved *John*’s subjects from their oaths of allegiance.² With this view, he had convened the last year, on *March* 19, at *Soissons*, a general council of the prelates and nobility of *France*: and proposing to them the enterprize, they all, except the count of *Flanders*, approved it, and promised to attend him in person with their followers. The count had been obliged some time before to give up *Aire* and *S. Omer* to prince *Louis* of *France*: and he refused to engage, as others did, unless these two places were restored to him; a demand, with which *Philip* did not think fit to comply. It was a great enterprize: and that he might not be diverted from pursuing it by any attempts of the emperor *Otho*, he made an alliance with *Frederic* king of *Sicily*, son of the late emperor *Henry* VI, whom the Pope, and several of the *German* princes, were endeavouring to raise to the empire. He spent near a year in making preparations for it; chiefly in building ships, that he might have a fleet able to fight the enemy, and sufficient to transport all his forces with the necessary provisions. He had lately got *Alice*, the heiress of *Bretagne*, married to his cousin *Peter* of *Dreux*: and by the benefit of that alliance, had the disposal of the naval force of that province. He laid an embargo upon all ships that put into the ports of *France*; *Eustace*³, a pirate whom *John* had taken into his service, deserted to him, with five galleys: and these with the vessels of his own subjects, and what he built on this occasion, made a fleet of seventeen hundred sail; the rendezvous whereof was appointed at *Boulogne*. That of his land forces was fixed at *Roën*:⁴ and all his barons and vassals were ordered to meet there on *April* 21, under pain of high treason, and forfeiture of their estates.

JOHN had soon advice of all that had passed at *Rome*: and having wreaked his revenge on *Langton* by cutting down the woods of the see of *Canterbury*, and on the bishop of *London* by demolishing his castle of *Storford*, made preparations to oppose the invasion; which he knew the king of *France* had for some time designed.⁵ His first

¹ *M. Paris.*

² *Rigord.*

³ *Chron. Dunstable.*

⁴ *M. Paris.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1213.

step was, to give orders, on *March* 3, for a list to be taken of all the ships, able to carry six or more horses, which were that day in each port of *England*, and for the masters thereof, to bring them, well manned, armed, and victualled, by the 24th of the month, to *Portsmouth*, there to enter into his pay and service. He sent likewise to the sheriffs of every county in the kingdom, to summon all the earls, barons, knights, esquires, and vassals, whether holding of the crown, or of any other superior, and all who ought to have, or could have, arms, to come well prepared with horses and armour by *April* 21, to the places of rendezvous, for the defence of his person and the realm, under pain of being branded for cowards, and degraded to a servile condition. Such as held land, were to follow their respective lords under whom they held it; those who had none, were to be paid by *John*; and the sheriffs were charged to provide carriages of provisions, and to make all the markets follow the army; inhibiting all others within their counties. The places of rendezvous were at *Dover*, *Feverham*, and *Ipswich*; where such numbers assembled, that they wanted victuals, and a vast number of those that were ill armed, being sent home, only the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, with the cross-bow men and archers staid upon the sea coast. The bishop of *Norwich* came at this time from his government of *Ireland*, with five hundred knights, and as many light horse, to *John's* assistance: and the whole force assembled on *Barham Down* near *Canterbury*, amounted on a muster to sixty thousand men, well armed and appointed. Such a body of brave troops, had they been well affected to *John*, were able to defend their country against any potentate upon earth: but his chief point in view was to keep the *French* from landing; placing his greatest confidence in the fleet he had provided, which was superior in strength to that of the enemy.

WHILST *John* was expecting the *French* on the sea coast, near *Dover*, *Pandulf*, perhaps not thinking it for the interest of the papacy to have the king of *France* so powerful, as the conquest of *England* would make him, or else out of the moderation of his own sentiments, sent two knight templars to assure him of his good intentions for his service, and to propose a conference for settling the terms of his reconciliation to the church; which would take off the sentence of deposition. *John* readily embraced the motion: the templars were sent back for the legate: and *Pandulf* arriving at *Dover*, represented to him the prodigious armament of the king of *France*, lying ready at the mouth of the *Seine*, the influence of the exiled prelates and nobles coming over with that prince, and the confidence which he had of his success, through the assurances which most of the *English* nobility had given him of their revolting to his service, in such a terrible light, that *John* was struck with the utmost confusion at the prospect of his danger. He had abundant reason to think, that almost all his nobility were disaffected, and that his continual exactions, and the murder of his nephew, had rendered him odious to the nation; he knew the defect of his title to the crown, the provocations he had given the prelates and clergy, and their influence on all orders of men throughout the kingdom: and what affected him still more was a pretended prophecy of one *Peter* of *Pontefract*, an hermite, who had foretold, either that he should soon¹ lose his crown, or that he should not reign till the end of his fourteenth year, which² was now begun, or that he should not be king on the next³ *Ascension* day (so many different ways is the substance of it related) and the effects which this had on the minds of the people of *England*, who in their senseless credulity believed firmly every thing that this visionary vented. The considerations engaged him on *Monday May* 13, at *Dover* to swear to the observance of the form of peace in the terms abovementioned, as it was sent over by

¹ *Chron. Mailros.*

² *Chron. Dunstaple.* *Chron. T. Wikes.*

³ *M. Paris.*

the Pope; the count of *Boulogne*, with the earls of *Salisbury*, *Warene*, and *Ferrers*, taking an oath at the same time, to see it duly executed in all its articles.

JOHN.
A. D. 1267.

THUS was *John* reconciled to the Pope, and in consequence thereof, it was expected that the excommunication against him and the interdict on the kingdom would be taken off: but the relaxation of these censures was deferred, till satisfaction was made to the prelates for the damages they had received, and restitution of what had been seized of their goods and possessions. The assurance given thereof might indeed prevent their coming over to countenance and promote the king of *France's* enterprize: but their declining to join him could not be supposed a sufficient reason to prevent his making a descent on *England*; when all his armament lay ready at the mouth of the *Seine* for that purpose, and the engagements of the nobility, who had invited him over, still subsisted. The submission to the Pope did not give *John* a better title to the crown than he had before, nor take off the odium of *Arthur's* murder, nor remove the grievances of the nation. These continued in all their height, and there was an evident necessity for finding some extraordinary expedient to prevent their effects. The only way that appeared to be effectual in this case was, the putting himself and his realm under the protection of the Pope; whose censures would then fall upon his enemies, and put them under the same difficulties, from which he was going to be extricated. Whether this was *John's* own thought, or was suggested to him by *Pandulf*, (though it was certainly no article of his instructions) the resolution was taken: and two days after his submission, viz. on *May 15*, the *Wednesday* sevennight before *Ascension day*, *John*, little concerned for the dignity of a crown to which he had no right¹, resigned his realms to the Pope, to hold them of him for the future as his vassal and feudatory by homage lige; paying him yearly, in lieu of all services and by way of acknowledgement of his superiority, seven hundred marks for the realm of *England* and three hundred for *Ireland*, and obliging his successors to do the same on pain of forfeiting all their right to the crown; saving however to himself and his heirs, the power of administering justice, creating justiciaries, and all their liberties and regalities. In consequence of this resignation, which was drawn up in an instrument to be sent to *Rome*, and of *Pandulf's* re-investing him with the crown, *John* took the usual oath of a vassal by homage liege to the Pope²: and signed the same day a charter exempting the clergy for the future from being subject to outlawries. He wrote likewise on the 24th of the same month³ to the archbishop and prior of *Canterbury*, and to the bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, letters under the great seal; inviting them over and assuring them of his favour⁴: and the prelates of *Dublin*, *Winton*, and *Norwich*, with twelve of the principal barons⁵ of the kingdom, having taken an oath for the due observance of the peace prescribed by the Pope, gave them the like assurances. ⁶*Pandulf*, fortified with these letters and with eight thousand pounds ready money, which *John* gave him in part of restitution and satisfaction according to the articles of peace, set out for *France*: and easily persuaded the exiles, pleased alike with the money and the conditions of the agreement, to return to *England*, and receive the remainder of what was due to them for their losses

¹ *Cart.* 15 *Job.* N^o 31. *M. Paris.* *Bibl. Cotton.* *Cleopatra F.* 1.

² *Pat.* 15 *Job.* p. 2. m. 8. ³ *Pat.* 15 *Job.* p. i. n. 84. ⁴ *Ib.* n. i.

⁵ These barons were *Geffrey Fitz Piers* earl of *Essex* chief justiciary, *Renaud* count of *Boulogne*, *Ralf* earl of *Chester*, *William* earl *Mareschal* earl of *Pembroke*, *William* earls of *Warene*, *Arundel*, and

Ferrers, *William* *Brinver*, *Robert de Ros*, *Gilbert Fitz Reinfray*, *Roger de Mortimer*, and *Peter Fitz Herbert*. These were all witnesses to the act of resignation of the crown, except the earl of *Chester*, *Robert de Ros*, *Roger de Mortimer*, and *Gilbert Fitz Reinfray*, in whose stead it was attested by *William* and *Saber* earls of *Sarum* and *Winton*, and *Warin Fitz Gerald*. ⁶ *M. Paris.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1213.
The French
invasion dis-
appointed;
John proposes
to invade
France.

LXXVIII. HE had a more difficult task to prevail on the king of *France*, to lay aside his design of invading *England*; after having been at an expence of above sixty thousand pounds sterling, only in his naval armament; and assembled all his troops in order to embark. *Philip* had undertaken the expedition at the Pope's repeated instances: and though *Pandulf's* getting *John* to resign his crown, met with the highest applause at the court of *Rome*, where it was full as acceptable as it was unexpected, it was far from being agreeable to that prince; who could not now make a descent in *England* without attacking *S. Peter's* patrimony, and quarrelling directly with *Innocent*, who in that case would not fail of loading him with the usual censures of excommunication and interdict. It was not however his fears of those censures that stopped his expedition, so much as the apprehensions he had, lest *Ferrand* count of *Flanders*, who declared openly against it as unjust, and had at the latter end of the last summer entered into a league¹ with *John*, should fall upon his territories during his absence. It was thought dangerous to leave such an enemy behind him; who might, by falling with his forces into *Ponthieu*, a fief not united to the crown of *France*, and *Normandie*, a country lately conquered, and not yet reconciled to their new masters, intercept his supplies and provisions; and otherwise traverse him in the execution of his project. This determined him, when his fleet was come from the mouth of *Seine* to *Boulogne*, or (as *Trivet* says) at *Calais*, and his army drawn thither ready to embark, to defer his *English* expedition, till he had reduced *Ferrand* (who had not obeyed his summons in coming to him at *Gravelines*) to such a condition, that he should not be able to do him any prejudice.

It appeared a work of little difficulty, to so great an army as he had under him on the borders of the country, and that required but a small time to execute: he entered *Flanders*, and soon making himself master of *Cassel*, *Ypres*, and other places, laid siege to *Bruges*; his fleet coasting along as he advanced, to supply him with provisions, till it came off *Damme*, two leagues from the place last named. *Ferrand* applying immediately to *John* for succours², the *English* fleet of five hundred large ships, well provided, besides eight hundred lesser vessels with seven hundred knights, and a great body of other forces, as well horse as foot on board, under the command of *W. Longuepée* earl of *Salisbury*, and *Renaud* count of *Boulogne*, set sail from *Portsmouth*: and having looked into the mouth of the *Seine*, and the roads of *Fécamp* and *Dieppe*, and either taken or burnt what ships they found there, came at last before *Damme*; where they discovered the *French* fleet at anchor. It consisted of such a prodigious number of ships, that the *English* commanders were at first startled, and unresolved what to do: but receiving advice, that the king of *France* having, on the surrender of *Bruges*, laid siege to *Gand*, most of the forces designed for the defence of the fleet, had gone on shore, to plunder the country, they attacked it; took above three hundred ships, laden with all sorts of provisions, armes, and necessaries, and burnt an hundred others that had run aground; the rest that lay out at sea, dispersing to save themselves. Not satisfied with this success, the *English* landed to attack the town of *Damme*, in order to destroy the ships that were in the port and channel; thinking the king of *France* at too great a distance to interrupt them in that attempt: but on the first news of their coming off the coast, *Philip* had ordered a body of troops to *Damme*³; who coming up surprized them with so vigorous an attack, that they retired to their ships with a considerable loss; *Renaud* himself being taken, though falling into the hands of some of his friends, they suffered him to escape. This advantage was but a small comfort to the king of *France*, under the disaster of his fleet: he saw his design upon *England* ruined; and in despair of saving the rest of his ships which remained in the port and canal

¹ Rymer, i. 161, 162.

² M. Paris. Chron. Duustaple.

³ Rigord.

of *Damme*, blocked up by the *English* fleet, he set them on fire; having first taken out the provisions and military engines. *Philip* having taken hostages from *Gand*, *Ypres*, and *Bruges*¹ for the payment of certain sums of money, for which those towns ransomed themselves, returned to *France*, before the end of *June*: and *Ferrand*, who had retired to the count of *Hollande*², returning with a body of forces, and assisted by the *English* from on board the fleet, recovered easily all the places that had been taken, by the favour of the inhabitants; though *Philip* returning took *Lille* again, and, to punish their revolt, reduced the town to ashes.

JOHN, overjoyed at the destruction³ of the *French* fleet, which rendered the descent proposed by *Philip* impracticable for this year, dismissed the forces he had kept on the coast: and sent a great sum of money to *Flanders*, as well for the pay of his forces there, as to enable *Ferrand* to invade *France*, in conjunction with a body of troops, which he expected the emperor *Otho* would furnish. He proposed at the same time to pass with a large army into *Poitou*, in order to attack *France* on that side, and recover the territories he had lost: and with this view, summoned his barons, knights, and other vassals, to meet him at *Portsmouth*. But he found on this occasion, what a miserable condition he would have been in, if *Philip* had landed in the kingdom; for all the nobility refused to follow him, unless he was first absolved from his excommunication. Vexed at their refusal, he wrote, ⁴ on *July* 1, to *Langton* and the exiled bishops to hasten their coming over: and sent the prelates of *Dublin* and *Norwich*, *William* earl of *Arundel*, *Matthew Fitz Herbert*, and *William* archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, to conduct them, and deliver them the letters⁵ of twenty-four noblemen, answering for their good treatment, and recompence of the damages they had suffered. Thus honourably attended, the exiles landed at *Dover* on *July* 16: and coming on the 20th of that month to *Winchester*, the king met them on their way to the cathedral; and they went together to the chapter-house of the convent. Being there in private, *Langton* obliged *John* to renew his oath of fealty to Pope *Innocent*, and “to swear that he would love, defend, and maintain holy church and the clergy against all their adversaries to the utmost of his power; that he would revive the good laws of his ancestors, particularly those of king *Edward*, and annul such as were inequitable; that he would judge all men according to the just judgment of his court, and would give every one his right; and that he would make full restitution, before *Easter*, to all concerned in the business of the interdict; and if he failed in so doing, he was to relapse into the former sentence of excommunication.” These oaths being taken, *John* was led to the church door, where the 50th *Psalms* being sung, he was absolved in the sight of the world: and the ceremony concluded with the bishop’s leading *John* into the church to hear mass. The next day, he issued out precepts to all the sheriffs of *England*, to send from all towns of his demesnes, four legal men with the *Reeve* to *S. Albans* on *August* 4, to inform him of the damages, which each of the exiled bishops had sustained.

JOHN was so intent upon his *French* expedition, that entrusting the government of the realm to *Geffrey Fitz Piers* and *Peter* bishop of *Winchester*, with directions to consult the archbishop of *Canterbury* in all the affairs of the nation, he went again to *Portsmouth*; not expecting, now he was absolved, that any difficulty would be made about the embarkation of his forces. But his barons, knights, and vassals had now waited near forty days, the usual time of service, at their own expence: and complaining of their long attendance, declared they had spent all their money, and could not go, unless he would supply them out of his treasury. This he refused, but imagining they might be tempted to follow him, embarked himself

¹ *Chron. Dunstable.*² *Gul. Brito.*³ *M. Paris.*⁴ *Rot. Claus. 15 Joh. p. 1. m. 8. d.*⁵ *M. Paris.*

JOHN. with his household, and failed to *Jersey*. They were not so affectionate to his service as to swallow the bait, but returned home: and *John* finding himself deserted, came back to *Portsmouth*, unable to go on with the expedition.

A. D. 1213.

IN the mean time, the two justiciaries had held a council at *S. Albans*, at which the archbishop, prelates, and many of the barons assisted. The chief business there transacted was, the proclaiming the king's peace; enjoining the laws of *Henry I* to be observed, and abrogating such as were unjust; abolishing the *Assizes*, set up by forest officers for collecting sums of money from people, that they might not inform against them for pretended transgressions of the forest; and ordering all sheriffs, foresters, and other officers of the crown, not to injure any man, or extort money by violence. This council was scarce broke up, when *John* returning from *Jersey*, full of fury against the barons that had deserted him, who were chiefly of the north of *England*, gathered an army to force them to perform their usual service: and was advanced to *Northampton*, when archbishop *Langton* coming to him, forbade him to make war against any one without the judgment of his court, as being contrary to the oath he had taken at his absolution. *John* telling him it was a secular affair, and he ought not to interpose in the business of the kingdom, set out early the next morning for *Nottingham*: but *Langton* pursuing him, and threatening to excommunicate all his followers, that should take up arms before the relaxation of the interdict, he was forced to desist; appointing the barons a day to answer in his court. This being held, on *November 1*, at *Wallingford*², he was there reconciled to them by the mediation of cardinal *Nicholas* bishop of *Frascati*³, who came into *England* on *September 27*, being sent by the Pope as his legate *a latere*, to adjust the estimate of the damages of the clergy.

*Langton forms
a conspiracy
against John.*

LXXIX. IT appears from the places whence⁴ the publick acts of this year are dated, that this expedition into the north was made in the month of *September*; and that *John*, notwithstanding the archbishop's inhibition, advanced as far as *Durham*, probably to provide for the security of the north; though he committed no hostility against the refractory barons; with whom *Langton* had before entered into a conspiracy. This prelate seems to have come into *England* full of rancour against him; resolved to distress his government, and to embroil the kingdom; though it doth not appear that *John* had given him any personal provocation: and it is very certain, he had made no encroachment upon the rights of the church, being, since he was subdued by the Pope, the tamest, and most submissive animal in nature, granting his *Congé d'Elire* immediately upon the vacancy of prelacies, and⁵ leaving the chapters and convents to a free election, without offering to interpose, by the recommendation of any particular person. But *Langton*, copying after the example of his predecessor *Becket* (whose corpse he afterwards translated with a most pompous solemnity, and instituted a new festival in his honour) wanted to have himself the disposal of all ecclesiastical dignities, and to act in civil affairs, as if he was master of the kingdom. With these views, having convened the prelates and clergy of his province⁶, on *August 25*, at *St. Paul's* in *London*, under pretence of appointing commissioners on their part, to enquire into the damages sustained by the exiled bishops, as *John* had done on his, he, after the dispatch of some ecclesiastical business, called some of the great barons, who usually attended those synodical assemblies, aside: and told them privately, "that he had absolved the king, "and forced him to swear he would abolish all unjust laws, and cause the laws of " *Edward the Confessor* to be observed; and that he had found a charter of *Henry I* (viz. that which hath been formerly mentioned as granted at that *Prince's* coro-

¹ *Chron. Dunstable.*
John. Abb. Petriburg.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Annal. Waverl.*
⁶ *Annal. Waverl. M. Paris.*

⁴ *Rymer, i. 174, 175, 176.*

⁵ *Chron.*

nation)

nation) “by which, if they pleased, they might assert their lost liberties.” Then producing the charter, he read it to them: and they all swearing before him, that they would, on a favourable opportunity, contend to death for those liberties, the archbishop promised them all the assistance in his power. It is very probable that *John* (who seems to have been then in the west¹) had some notice given him of this treasonable conspiracy, before he went on his expedition into the north; and that this was the reason why he ordered *John* bishop of *Norwich*, whom he had sent, on *July* 25, on an embassy to the emperor² *Otho*, to go from the imperial court to *Rome*. It was upon the arrival of this prelate there, that, to guard against the malevolence and designs of *Langton* and the exiled bishops, the Pope, on *October* 22, wrote to his legate *Nicholas*, to see all the letters and bulls, which he had given to that archbishop to be published, in case *John* did not submit to the articles prescribed, committed to the flames and destroyed. *Innocent* wrote, at the same time, to *John* himself; assuring him, “that he would ever maintain his royal dignity entire, and advising him in prudence not to involve himself in any dispute with his archbishops and bishops about ecclesiastical rights; but rather have recourse to him, who could do that for him with credit, which he could not do for himself without offence, and he would be sure to gratify him in all his honourable requests.” The same seems to be the occasion of other letters of this Pope⁴, as well to the king of *Scotland*, to the bishops, earls, and barons of *England* and *Ireland*, “conjuring them to continue in their fidelity to *John*, and to attempt nothing against him on account of the resignation of his crown” (which seems not to have been agreeable to the nobility in general, or at least to have been made use of by them as a pretence for their rebellious measures,) ⁵ as to his legate, requiring him to annul all conspiracies and associations relating to the interdict.

THIS legate, on *October* 3, ⁶ the *Thursday* after his arrival, received in the Pope’s name *John*’s homage for his realms, in the church of *St. Paul, London*; with the first year’s payment of the tribute of a thousand marks: and a new instrument was drawn up of *John*’s resignation and oath of fealty, agreeable to the former in all respects; only this last was sealed with a golden bull, whereas the other had a wax impress. There was an assembly of prelates and nobility, on occasion of this ceremony, and of the treaty for adjusting the damages of the clergy; the commissioners employed⁷ by the exiled prelates differing widely from *John*’s officers in the computation of their value, and probably exaggerating the matter, since they pretended that twenty-three thousand marks would scarce make good the damages of the see of *Lincoln*, nor twenty thousand those of the monks of *Canterbury*. *John* offered to pay down an hundred thousand marks, and to give security for paying by the next *Easter*, what should appear to be further due on that account, after a thorough inquisition had been made; and the legate was much displeased that the bishops would not agree to this proposal: but they had a mind to protract the affair, till they had compleated their enquiry⁸, and *John* willingly hearkened to every motion of delay. This affair came again under consideration in the council of *Reading* on *November* 3, and of *Wallingford* held two days after the other: but nothing was done in it, till the assembly of *Reading* on *December* 6, when the bishops brought in all their accompts, and received fifteen thousand marks in part of their demands, till the whole could be adjusted. The legate was thought to favour *John* in this point of the accompts, because he would not take what the bishops delivered in for granted, but allowed time for examining into the particulars: ⁹ he afterwards made a progress through the kingdom, visiting the mona-

¹ *Rymer*, i. 175.² *Ib.* 174.³ *Ib.* 179, 180.⁴ *Ib.* 177, 178.⁵ *Ib.* 110.⁶ *Ib.* 176.⁷ *Chron. Dunstaple*, p. 64, 65.⁸ *Chron. Dunstaple*.*M. Paris.*⁹ *Chron. Dunstaple*.

JOHN. steries, and filling up the vacant abbacies and priories according to the *Pope's* directions.

A. D. 1214.

John's expedition into France.

LXXX. JOHN, in the mean time, was intent upon his expedition into *Poitou*, which he had promised *Raimond* count of *Toulouse*¹, and *Guy* count of *Auvergne*, to make the last year: and having been hindered as above related, had made an ill excuse to them, by pleading stormy weather as the occasion of his failure. *Raimond* came over, a little before *Christmas*, to press him not to defer it longer: and was honourably received by him, notwithstanding the complaints of the legate and the archbishop², on account of that prince's being deemed an heretick, and under excommunication. The counts of *Flanders*³ and *Boulogne*, with some other foreign noblemen, came over in *January*, to do homage for their pensions, and concert measures for the operations of the approaching campaign: and *John*, having supplied them with money, and sent the earl of *Salisbury* back with them, sailed himself from *Portsmouth*, on *February* 2, towards *Guienne*; landing on *Saturday, February* 15, at *Rochelle*. This prince had, on the last *October* 2, suffered a great loss by the death of *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, his chief justiciary, and earl of *Essex*; whose great power and alliances with the chief families in the nation, had enabled him to be one of the best supports of his throne in all his difficulties: and when he was now to provide for the government during his absence, he left it in the hands of *Peter* bishop of *Winchester*⁴, whom he appointed chief justiciary, and made guardian of the realm; which, however, for the greater security, he put under the protection of the legate. *Savary de Mauleon*⁵ had given *John* assurances of returning into his service: and joined him as soon as he entered *Poitou*; where he took several castles of the barons of that country. Among these was the famous castle of *Melusine*, and some others belonging to *Geffrey de Lusignan*; ⁶ who being obliged to submit, came on *Sunday, June* 8, with *Hugh* count of *la Marche*, and his brother the count of *Eu*, to do homage and swear fealty to *John* at *Parthenay*; pursuant to a treaty, by which *John* agreed to restore the count of *Eu* to all his lands in *England*, and to give his daughter *Jane* in marriage to *Hugh's* eldest son, with two thousand pounds a year in land; though the king of *France*, to prevent an alliance, which put an end to an old quarrel, that had been of great advantage to his affairs, had desired the young princess for his son *Philip*. *John*, having thus secured the *Poitovins* in his interest, marched into *Anjou*; ⁷ took *Beaufort*, with some other inconsiderable places: and began to fortify *Angers*. From thence he passed to *La Roche-au-moine*, a fortress between that town and *Nantes*, on the side of the *Loire*: and sent parties to ravage the *Pais Nantois*; where they took in a skirmish *Robert*, the eldest son of *Robert* count of *Dreux*, with fourteen *French* gentlemen. But *Louis* prince of *France*, and the marshal *Henry Clement*, advancing with two thousand horse and seven thousand foot to the relief of the fortress, *John*, though his army was much more numerous, yet perhaps mistrusting the *Poitovins* in it, raised the siege with so much precipitation⁸, that he left his tents, baggage, and military engines; crossed the *Loire* in such an hurry, that he lost a good number of men in his passage; and fled in one day eighteen leagues without stopping. *Louis* returning from the pursuit, easily recovered all that had been taken in *Anjou*: and levelled the walls, which *John* had built at *Angers*.

THIS was a terrible blow to *John's* affairs in those parts: and it was followed, in a few days, by a worse disaster on the side of *Flanders*, by the entire defeat of the allied army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of *Imperialists, English, Dutch, and Flemings*, by the king of *France* at *Bovines*. In this battle, which was

¹ Rymer, i. 175. ² Chron. Dunstable. ³ Annal. Waverl. ⁴ Rymer, i. 181. ⁵ Ib. 175, 182. ⁶ Ib. 185, 193. ⁷ Rigord. ⁸ Gul. Brito.

fought

fought on *Sunday, July 27*, the counts of *Flanders, Hollande, and Boulogne*, the earl of *Salisbury*, with several other persons of quality, were taken prisoners; the emperor *Otho* himself escaping with great difficulty. This glorious victory put an end to all the designs, which *Hervé* count of *Nevers*, several of the *French* nobility, and abundance of the barons of *Normandie, Anjou, and Maine* had formed of a revolt, in order to put themselves again under the obedience or protection of the crown of *England*. *Philip*, to improve the terror, which it had struck into his enemies, passed into *Poitou*: and at *Loudun* received the submission of the viscount of *Thouars*, who was reconciled to him by the mediation of *Peter de Dreux* duke of *Bretagne*. *John*, seeing all his affairs in that country desperate, had no way left but to get *Robert de Curson*, an *Englishman* by birth, and the Pope's legate at that time in *France*², to use his good offices for a truce, under the usual pretence of the succour of the *Holy Land*: and these were so effectual, that one was concluded, on *August 31*, for a fortnight; and this was followed by another, on *September 18*, till the *Easter* following, and to be continued from that term for five years longer. The conditions of this truce were more equitable than *John* had reason to expect; all things being to remain during the term in their present state, and the prisoners on neither side to be released. It was this last condition, which occasioned the exchange between *Robert de Dreux*, and the earl of *Salisbury*: and *John* having thus ended his campaign, returned on *October 19*, into *England*.

LXXXI. SEVERAL things had happened favourable to him in this country during his absence. A great many abbeys and dignities in cathedrals had fallen vacant during the interdict:³ and archbishop *Langton* taking it ill, that the legate *Nicholas* should fill up all these without his being concerned, or even consulted in their disposal, had convened his suffragans, in the beginning of the year, at *Dunstable*; and with their concurrence had sent to *Nicholas*, then at *Burton upon Trent*, to inhibit him from putting any prelates into the vacant churches within his province, and to notify his appealing to the Pope upon that subject. The legate still went on, as he had begun, to execute the Pope's orders in filling the prelacies, notwithstanding this appeal: but sent *Pandulf* to *Rome*, to oppose *Langton's* and the bishops measures. The Pope had not at this time any favourable opinion of those bishops of the province of *Canterbury*⁴, in whose dioceses *Peter-pence* was collected; having been informed, that they kept the greatest part of the money to themselves, remitting him only three hundred marks, when they received above a thousand, though they had no grant from the papacy, nor any prescription of an hundred years (within which time the church of *Rome* might resume its rights) to warrant their practice. He had, on *January 28*, wrote to his legate to call them to account for the residue, and to constrain them to pay it, even by censures, if necessary: and when *Pandulf* arriving at *Rome*, gave him a very advantageous account of *John's* conduct, and as had a one of archbishop *Langton's*, he readily believed all his representations. In vain did *Simon Langton*, that prelate's brother, and the other agents employed by the bishops to support their appeal, attempt to defend his character, and justify his proceedings: *Pandulf* was entirely credited; the golden bull of resignation and homage, with the first annual payment, and the free exercise of *Nicholas's* legation, supported by the royal authority, in opposition to that of the bishops, confirming undeniably all his assertions. The first effect thereof, was a grant⁵, on *April 15*, of a privilege, exempting *John's* person from excommunication, and his royal chapel from an interdict, without a special mandate from the Pope; which put it out of the archbishop's power to distress him by those censures.

¹ Rigord. ² Rymer, i. 190, 191, 192. Chr. Dunstable. ³ M. Paris. ⁴ Rymer, i. 182.

⁵ Ibid. 181.

J O H N. This was followed by a direction from *Innocent* to his legate¹, to take off the interdict, under which *England* had lain for above six years; upon *John's* taking an oath², and giving security for paying twelve thousand pounds a year to *Langton* and the suffering bishops, till the sum of forty thousand marks, at which he adjudged their damages to be rated, should be paid, including the sums which those prelates had already received. Whether this valuation comprehended only the rents of the sees, or whether it was an act of pure bounty in *John*³, he gave the bishops, besides the forty thousand pounds which he paid them duely, lands, rents, fairs in all their manors, licenses to inclose their woods within his forests, with other liberties and privileges, to repair the losses they had suffered in the dilapidation of their houses, and demolition of some of their castles. The legate, pursuant to the Pope's orders, summoned a council at *S. Paul's* in *London*, on *Thursday*,⁴ *July* 3: and it appearing that the exiles had received twelve thousand marks abroad by the hands of *Pandulf*, and fifteen thousand in *England*, and security being given for the thirteen thousand remaining, he took off the interdict; to the great joy of the nation; though with some dissatisfaction to the bishops, who had rejected larger sums, when offered for their compensation.

Insurrection
of the barons,
and grant
of *Magna*
Charta.

LXXXII. THE kingdom had scarce time to enjoy the benefits of the relaxation of that sentence, before it was involved in fresh troubles. The barons, whom *Langton* had endeavoured, by shewing them the charter of *Henry I.*, to spirit up into a rebellion⁵, met about the time of *John's* return from abroad at *S. Edmund's Bury*, under pretence of devotion: and all swore upon the great altar; "that they would go at *Christmas* to the king, and demand a confirmation of the liberties contained in that charter, and the laws to which it referred; that they would make war upon him, till he should, by a charter under his seal, confirm all they demanded; that, in the mean time, they should provide themselves with horses and armes, to force the king (if he should deny or recede from his engagement to grant them) to a compliance by taking his castles." They came accordingly, in the beginning of *January*, to *London*, in a military garb and equipage, and on the 6th of that month, desired *John* to grant them the liberties contained in the⁷ charter of *Henry I.*, and the laws of that prince taken out of those of *Edward the Confessor*; alledging that he had promised to observe them, when he was absolved at *Winchester*. *John* not only refused their requests: but insisted they should promise under their seals, that they would never demand or exact such liberties, either from him or his successors; which all the barons about the court refused, as a thing unprecedented; except the bishop of *Winchester*, the earl of *Chester*, and *William Bricer*. This backwardness in those upon whom he most depended, startled *John*: and seeing the other barons resolute in making their demand, and ready prepared for war, he⁸ thought it best to gain time; and desired, on account of the importance and difficulty of the matter, that he might defer his answer till the close of *Easter*, when he promised to give them satisfaction. The barons of the north, who had declined going with him two years before to *Poitou*⁹, and who refused likewise to pay even the scutage due, for the last year's expedition thither, in lieu of their personal service, were the ringleaders in this conspiracy: but their demands were very popular; and likely to engage the whole nation in their favour. The common people were very fond of the customs, called king *Edward's* laws: and the nobility had reason to be full as fond of those relaxations of the duties and services, annexed to military tenures by the feudal law, which *Henry I.* (to bribe the great men to

¹ *Rymer*, i. 187, 188.

² *M. Paris.*

³ *Chron. Dunstable*, p 62, 63.

⁴ *Annal. Eccl. Wigorn.*

Chron. Dunstable.

⁵ *M. Paris.*

⁶ Perhaps on *November* 20, the festival of *S. Edmund*.

⁷ *Rymer*, i. 184.

⁸ *M. Paris.*

⁹ *Rymer*, i. 199.

support him in his usurping the crown to the prejudice of his elder brother) pretended to grant at his coronation by the charter in question, but took care never to observe in the course of his government. The chief of these were, “ a ¹ right to “ dispose of their personal estates, in favour of their relations, and of their daughters, sisters, and nieces, to any body, but who was the king’s enemy, without “ paying a fine for a license; liberty for widows to marry; exemption of the “ ploughs on their demesnes from talliages; reducing reliefs to a reasonable sum; “ vesting the custody of minors in their nearest relations; and a quitting claim to “ the profits of the vacancy of churches.” Neither the barons nor their ancestors had ever enjoyed any of these liberties: but they thought the opportunity favourable for extorting them from the crown; whilst it was wore by a man who had no right to it, and whose person was become generally contemptible.

JOHN saw the difficulties of his situation, and the danger of the whole kingdom’s declaring against him: and took the best precautions he could to guard against the mischief he apprehended; the ² first of which was, the causing fealty to be sworn, and homages to be renewed, to himself against all men, by all persons throughout *England*. He knew very well the mighty influence which the clergy had in the nation: and to curry favour with them, he passed, on *January 15*, ³ by the common assent of his barons, and with a saving of the custody of vacant prelacies to himself and his heirs, a charter establishing for ever the right of free elections in all churches, monasteries, cathedrals, and conventual societies; obliging himself and successors, neither to deny or delay a *Congé d’Elire* (if he did, they were allowed to proceed to a choice without any) nor to hinder the elected person’s taking possession of his dignity; nor yet to deny the royal assent to such elections, without a reasonable objection. Those, who engaged in the expeditions for relief of the *Holy Land*, were under the particular protection of the see of *Rome*; their persons and lands were deemed too sacred to be attacked by any power, without the invader’s being guilty of a great iniquity, and incurring a general odium: ⁴ *John* therefore, on *Candlemas day*, took upon him the cross, rather out of fear than devotion, and with the view of being entitled to the privileges of such as were under that vow of pilgrimage. The *Pope* was now, by his acknowledged superiority, become interested in all the affairs of *England*: and both parties applied to him on this occasion; *John’s* agent, *W. Mauclore*, arriving at *Rome* ⁵, on *Tuesday, February 23*, and *Eustace de Vescy*, with a chaplain named *de Paris*, and other deputies of the barons, on the *Saturday* following. These last pressed the Pontiff to oblige *John* to confirm the liberties they claimed; pretended it was the request not only of the northern, but of all the barons of the realm; and represented their own merits, in standing for the liberty of the church during the interdict (whilst *John* submitted purely out of fear) as a motive for the *Pope* to interpose in their favour. *Innocent*, on *March 19*, wrote as well to the ⁶ barons as to the archbishops and bishops of *England*, charging the former to maintain peace; recommending to them an humble manner of suing to the king; in which case he would exert his good offices for the granting of their just petitions; declaring their associations null; and inhibiting them from entering into any more: and reproaching the latter for conniving at these dissensions; for favouring, if not conspiring, with the barons; ordering them to promote peace; to reconcile the parties; and forbid all associations.

THESE letters had no effect either upon the bishops or barons: who paid likewise as little regard to *John’s* vow of pilgrimage, and to the privileges of an expedition for the relief of *Palestine*. The ⁷ barons finding *Innocent* against them,

¹ *M. Paris*, p. 55. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Rymer*, i. 197.

⁴ *M. Paris*. ⁵ *Rymer*, i. 184. ⁶ *Ib.* 196, 197.

⁷ The chief of these conspirators or incendiaries

were *Robert Fitz Walter*, and his cousin *Gilbert* earl of *Gloucester*, *Saber* earl of *Hinchester*, *Roger Bigod* earl of *Norfolk*, *Geoffrey Fitz Piers* earl of

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raised a clamour in all places against their prince, for submitting to an ¹ homager to the Pope; and for giving up the independency of the crown of *England*: and drew the greatest part of the nobility of the realm into their party, being engaged by their common interest to obtain the liberties demanded, and having a fair prospect of success, considering their own strength, and how universally odious *John* was throughout the nation. Their general rendezvous was at ² *Stamford*; where, in *Easter* week, they mustered a prodigious army, consisting of two thousand knights, besides gentlemen, horse and foot; and marched on *Monday* following, *April* 27, to *Brackley*, about five or six leagues from *Oxford*, where *John* expected their coming. He sent to them from thence the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Mareſchal* earl of *Pembroke*, with others of his council, to know what liberties and laws they desired: and they delivered a schedule, containing their demands; which they pretended were ancient usages, taken either out of the charter of *Henry I.* or the laws of *Edward the Confessor*. When this schedule was shewed to *John*, he asked, why among such a number of unjust and unheard of exactions, they did not likewise demand the kingdom: and declared that such liberties, as would make him their slave, were never to be granted. The barons, upon this refusal, chose *Robert Fitz Walter* their general, by the plausible style of *constable* or *mareſchal* of the army of God and holy church: and marching to *Northampton*, lay before the castle a fortnight: but having no military engines, they raised the siege; advanced to *Bedford Castle*; and were readily admitted into it by *William de Beauchamp*. Receiving there expresses from their friends in *London* with advice, that if they made haste, they might be masters of the city, they marched without loss of time to *Ware*; and from thence all night, so as to enter *London* by *Aldgate* very early on *Sunday* ³ morning, *May* 24, and finding the gates open, took possession of the place, without any disturbance, by the favour of the rich citizens of their party, whilst the rest were generally employed in their devotions. When they had disposed their guards in all places, and taken security of the citizens they suspected, they sent letters to all the nobility and gentry in the kingdom, that seemed as yet to adhere to ⁴ *John*; very few of them being hearty in his service; inviting them to join in their cause, and to fight for their liberties, or else threatening them with the utter destruction of their seats and castles: and these had such an effect upon abundance that had not yet sworn to the liberties demanded, that either favouring their cause, or dreading their power, they repaired to *London*, and entered into the confederacy.

JOHN had offered the barons to abolish all evil customs ⁵, that had been introduced either in his own, or in his brother *Richard's* time; and if they had any to complain of in his father's reign, he was ready to redress them by the advice of his prelates and nobility: but this did not answer their purpose; who having the power in their hands, resolved to make use of it for stripping the crown of those ancient rights and feudal customs, it had reserved to itself in the grants of lands to their predecessors since the conquest, and which were quietly enjoyed by sovereigns in all

Essex, Eustace de Vesey, Richard de Percy, Robert de Ros, Peter de Bruis, Nicholas d'Estouteville, W. de Mowbray, Oliver de Vaux, northern barons: the constables of *Chester* and *Meutun*, *Roger de Greiffy*, *O.* and *John Fitz Alan*, *Ralf* and *John Fitz Robert*, *Fulk Fitz Warin*, *Robert de Ver*, *Simon de Kyme*, *W. Malet*, *W. Montacute*, *W. Mareſchal* the younger, *W. de Beauchamp*, *W. Mauduit*, *Roger de Montbegon*, *G. de Laval*, *G.* and *Maurice de Gant*, *W. de Hodrug*, *W. de Langvaly*, *W. Fitz Piers*, *W. de Huntingfield*, *Roger de Montschet*, *Roger de Brakeſle*, *Robert de Grasſey*, *Alex. de Pointon*, *Alex. de Sutton*, *Peter Fitz John*, *Robert de Bobi*, *Tho. de Muleton*, *Conan Fitz Ely*,

and many others; *Stephen Langton* archbishop of *Canterbury* being the head and principal director of the whole confederacy.

¹ *Rymer*, i. 207. ² *M. Paris*. ³ *The Chronicle of Dunstaple* says, it was on *Sunday*, *May* 17.

⁴ *M. Paris* reckons among those the earls of *Pembroke*, *Chester*, *Salisbury*, *Wassme*, *Albemarle*, and *Cornwall*: *John Mareſchal*, *W.* and *Philip d'Albincy*, *W. Briwere*, *Rob. de l'epant*, *Peter Fitz Hubert*, *Brien de Lisle*, *G. de Lucy*, *G. de Parnisat*, *Tho. Bassot*, *Henn. de Braybroc*, *H. de Cornhill*, *John de Bassingburne*, *W. de Cantilupe*, *John Fitz Hugh*, and *Hugh de Neville*.

⁵ *Rymer*, i. 240.

other

other parts of *Europe*. Upon their rejecting these offers, and proceeding to hostilities in the siege of *Northampton*, he had applied to archbishop *Langton*, and his suffragan bishops, desiring them to execute the Pope's orders, and afford him the usual protection of the church in favour of princes that had crossed themselves for the *Holy Land*, by excommunicating such as attacked them: but this *Langton* had refused in the presence of the bishop of *Exeter* and *Pandulf*; who thought the request reasonable, and that it ought to be granted. The archbishop's excuse for this refusal was, that *John*, not trusting to the fidelity of his own subjects, had sent for a body of foreign troops into the kingdom; and as long as they were in his pay, he declared that he would not pass any censure on the barons¹: but if he would dismiss those foreigners, he would not only excommunicate the nobility that had taken arms, but would himself be active in opposing all their measures. This was an artifice to deprive *John* of the assistance he would else have had from the subjects of allies, the *Germans* and *Flemings* he had taken into his pay, and who would have served him faithfully: for when complying with *Langton's* humour, and depending on his promise, he had sent them away, the archbishop would not still issue his censures against the barons. He had, on ² *May* 10, given the barons security, that he would not disseize or proceed against them or their vassals by force of arms, but by the law of the land, and the judgment of their peers: and when these insurgents had got possession of *London*, he had sent them a proposal in letters patent under his seal, offering to refer all the liberties they demanded, either to the Pope alone, or to four noblemen named by himself (though he could name none, but who wished to obtain them) and to four others of their choosing, who jointly with the Pope, as superior, should decide in the case, and he would stand to their award on that head; and with regard to their other petitions, would do them justice, by the advice and judgment of their peers: but the barons, resolving to carry their point by force, and to be judges in their own cause, absolutely rejected the references proposed. *John* seeing himself deserted, and fearing his castles would be taken from him, in his inability to oppose their forces, submitted to the barons at discretion³; sending them word he would grant them the laws and liberties they demanded: and appointing *Monday, June* 15, for a treaty to settle all matters with them in a conference to be held on *Runnymede*, between *Stanes* and *Windsor*. The barons came thither, attended by an infinite number of knights and warriors: and after a treaty of some days with *John's* commissioners⁴, most of them in the interests of the opposite party, he agreed to grant them the liberties expressed in two charters; the one entitled, *Magna Charta*, or *The charter of liberties*; the other *Charta de Foresta*, or *The charter of the customs or liberties of the forest*.

THESE charters are so well known, and so many learned comments have been wrote upon them, that I may very well be excused from taking notice of their contents; especially since the variations made in some of the articles during the reign of *Henry III*, will bring them then under consideration, and I shall have a more proper occasion to take notice of the articles that concern the common council of the kingdom, when I come to treat of the constitution of our parliaments, as settled in the time of *Edward I*. It may be proper however to observe, that besides the confirmation of all the rights and liberties of the church of *England* in general, the

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¹ *Reg. r.*, i. p. 224. ² *Pat.* 16 *John*. p. 1. m. 3. d. n. 2. ³ *M. Paris*.

⁴ These were the prelates of *Canterbury*, *Dublin*, *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worcester*, *Gloucester*, and *Richmond*. *Pandulf* elect of *Norwich* (to which see he had been chosen by the Pope's precept, after the decease of *John de Gray*, who died in *October* the last year in *Poitou*. *Annal.*

Eccl. Hist. and *Chr. Dunstable*) *Amaury* prior of the templars in *England*, the earls of *Pembroke*, *Wareme*, *Sarum*, and *Arundel*, *Alan de Galloway*, *W. Fitz Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz Herbert*, *Tho.* and *Alan Basset*, *Hugh de Neville*, *Hubert de Burg* seneschal of *Poitou*, *Robert de Roperley*, *John Marshal* and *Philip de Albini*.

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entire freedom of elections to bishopricks, abbeys, deaneries, and other ecclesiastical dignities, without the recommendation or nomination of any person by the crown in a letter missive, (as granted by *John's* late charter of *January* 15) was expressly confirmed. The clergy likewise found a convenience in the general liberty granted to all persons (except outlaws and prisoners) of going abroad, and returning home without a special license, unless in a time of war for a short time: and seem to have got a new immunity in the case of offences, where the penalty was only pecuniary, by an article providing, that no ecclesiastick should be amerced in proportion to the value of his benefice, but only according to his lay tenement, if he had any; which perhaps was not very common. The prelates could not wrest from the crown the custody of vacant prelacies, whilst the lay-nobility, who in right of their ancestors foundation were patrons of abbeys and convents, were careful to secure, by a particular article, their right to the custody thereof upon a vacancy. The fixing of the rates of reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights fees, which before were arbitrary; the providing that tenants, who held lands of honours or baronies escheated to the crown, should not pay a greater relief, nor more services than before the escheat; the securing to themselves, as well the lands of their vassals forfeited for felony, after the term of a year and a day due to the crown was expired; as the wardships of their military tenants, who held other lands of the crown, not by the same tenure, but by *socage*, *fee farm*, *burgage*, or *petit serjeanty*, were considerable acquisitions to the barons. A person knighted by the king, though a minor, had all the privileges of a man of full age; ceased to be a ward; and had possession of his lands, whether held of the crown, or a mesne lord; the barons now took care of their own interests by a provision, that such a knighthood should not lose themselves, though it lost the crown, the benefit of such wardships. There was a more general use in the regulations made in favour of widows and minors; that the former should not be forced to marry against their will, though they could not dispose of themselves without their lord's consent, or pay any fine for their thirds or dower; and that the wardships of the latter should not be sold, and their guardians should take only reasonable profits from their lands, without committing waste, leave them as well stocked as when they received them, keep the houses, buildings, and other conveniences in good repair, and marry them without disparagement, after previously acquainting their next relations. *John's* arbitrary exactions of aids upon all orders of men, by his sole authority, and his raising scutages to an higher rate than was ever paid on any occasion in his father's, or even in his brother's, reign, seem to have been the reasons of the provision that no scutages or aids should be rated or laid in the kingdom without the common council of the realm, except in the three cases of ransoming the king's person, knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter; in which too the rate was to be reasonable; and the king might grant the lords, that held immediately of him, a power to levy the like upon their under tenants; though he was restrained from doing so in all other cases. The crown exercised in those days an exorbitant and inconvenient power, ordering the justices of the king's court, in suits about lands, to turn out, put, and keep in possession which of the litigants they pleased; to send contradictory orders, and take large sums of money for each; to respite proceedings; to direct sentences: and the judges acting by their commission, conceived themselves bound to observe such orders, to the great delay, interruption, and perverting of justice; at least this was *John's* practice, as appears from the *Continuator of the history of Croyland*, in his account of the tedious lawsuit between that abbey and the prior of *Spalding*. This practice seems to be the reason of those clauses in *Magna Charta* ¹, wherein *John* (agreeable to what he had declared in a charter of the 10th of the precedent month)

¹ *Pat. 16 John. p. 1. m. 3. d. n. c.*

promised that no freeman should be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or free customs, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal process; and that he would not sell, deny, or delay right or justice. JOHN.
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THE exorbitant power of sheriffs, and their abuse of it, have been frequently taken notice of in this history: and it was now thought proper to restrain them from holding the county-courts above once a month, and their turns above twice a year; and to inhibit them, as well as castellans, coroners, and the king's bailiffs, from holding pleas of the crown. The sheriffs having the management of the crown revenue within their districts, and answering for the profits in the exchequer, used to raise the farms of the counties, hundreds, and tythings, as they pleased: but were now restrained from raising them, except in the king's demesne manors. Several other grievances, imposed on the people by these and other officers of the crown, as well in prosecuting them maliciously, and putting them to canonical purgations without proof of the crime, as with regard to carriages, purveyance of victuals, and other services, were removed by the great charter: and the amercements that used to be inflicted by the sentence of all courts, and proved too often exorbitant, were, for the future, to be proportioned to the offence, and to the circumstances of the person, so as not to affect his landed estate, or disable him to follow his business and way of livelihood; and to be rated in the case of earls and barons, by their peers, and of others, by the verdict of twelve legal men of the neighbourhood. The *Charta de Foresta* was calculated to prevent the lawless collections and exactions of foresters; to allow freeholders, within the bounds of a forest, to improve their lands, and to make a profit of their own woods; to disforest all forests made since the first coronation of *Henry I.*, that took in other people's woods, and comprehended any lands, but what were the crown's demesnes; to regulate the forest courts, and exempt such as lived out of the bounds of forests, from attending there upon common summons, unless attached for some transgression; to reverse all old outlawries for such transgressions; and to render the crime of taking of the king's venison no longer capital, but punishable only by fines, and in case of insolvency, by a year's imprisonment.

SUCH were the principal regulations made by the two charters, signed at *Runcimede*: and it is not easy to find any thing in them for a good king to except against; unless in the manner of their being extorted; and because in what related particularly to the barons, their dependence upon him was lessened, and the revenue of the crown impaired. There is not the least notice taken in them of the laws of *Edward the Confessor*; though the barons were absolute masters of the conditions, and *John* granted all that they pleased to prescribe; so that, in all probability, they never really intended a revival of those laws, but only made use of them as a pretence to gull the common people, and draw them into their party. *John* was too imperious, griping, and rapacious in his nature, and too much used to indulge these passions in the height of their irregularity, to be easy under any retrenchment of his power and revenue: and he could not digest the dishonour¹ he suffered in being compelled to give up some rights of the crown, which were enjoyed by the king of *France*, and all other *European* princes in their respective territories. The barons, fearing he might fly off from their agreement, took their measures to keep it from being violated: and obliged him to consent, that they should choose² five and twenty of their number, to see that the two charters were observed; and in case he or his justiciary broke any of the articles, four of those five and twenty barons might

¹ *M. Paris.*

² These twenty-five barons were, the earls of *Clare*, *Albemarles*, *Gloucester*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, *Norfolk*, and *Oxford*, *W. Marechal* the younger, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Gilbert de Clare*, *Eustace de Vesey*, *Hugh Bigod*, *W. de Mowbray*; the mayor of *London*,

don, *Gilbert de Laval*, *Robert de Ros*, the constable of *Chester*, *Richard de Percy*, *John Fitz Robert*, *W. Malet*, *Geoffrey de Say*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *W. de Huntingfield*, *Rich. de Montfichet*, and *W. de Albiney*.

J O H N.
A. D. 1215.

demand reparation; and if this was not done within forty days, they were to give notice to the rest; who, with the community of the nation, might compel him to it, by seizing his castles, lands, and possessions, till he gave satisfaction to their content, saving the persons of himself, wife, and children. All persons that pleased, might swear to assist them in that compulsion, and to obey the orders of the major part of those twenty-five barons: and *John* issued writs, to oblige all his sheriffs, officers, and others throughout the realm, to take the same oath; to seize the estates of such as¹ refused it; and within a fortnight after such refusal, to sell all their chattels, and apply the money thence arising to the relief of *Palestine*. Twelve knights were also to be chosen in each shire at the next county-court, to enquire into evil customs, and corrupt practices of sheriffs, and their ministers, foresters, and other officers, in order to their being abolished conformably to the charters. *John* engaged to do or procure nothing, that might either revoke or diminish the liberties therein contained; or, if he did, it should be void, and of no effect. The barons swore likewise to observe them: and, for a further security, the governors of the castles of *Northampton*, *Kenilworth*, *Nottingham*, and *Scarborough*, were to take an oath for doing with them what a majority of the twenty-five conservators of the charters should order: and well-affected persons, that would keep their oaths, were always to have the government of those castles. It was agreed likewise, that the barons² should keep possession of *London*, and archbishop *Langton* have the custody of the tower, till the next *August* 15; saving to the king his farms, rents, and debts, and to the city, its liberties and free customs: but if all things were restored to the barons according to the orders of the twenty-five conservators, and oaths were taken to these all over *England*; or it was not the king's fault, that it was not done by that day, they were then to be re-delivered to *John*; though if he hindered it, they were to remain in the hands of the barons, and the archbishop. Such were the agreements made, and the orders issued, during the five days³ conference in *Ruimede*; when many of the nobility applying to *John* for restitution of lands, and the custody of castles, which, as they pretended, belonged to them by hereditary right, he deferred granting the petitions of most of the suitors, till *July* 16, by which time an inquisition might be made into their rights: but yet gave up the castle of *Rocheſter* to archbishop *Langton*, with some others, of which he claimed by ancient right to have the custody. The whole transaction concluded with orders, on *John's* part, for observing the peace, and for swearing to the observance of the charters all over *England*; and with a general pardon to all persons, remitting all crimes and transgressions from the foregoing *Easter* to the day of the treaty: and the barons having renewed to him their homages, which they had formerly renounced, when they took up arms, and had him defiance, returned to *London*. *John* had desired from them a certificate, of their having done that homage, under their seals: but though they had promised to give him whatever security he pleased (except castles and hostages) for their keeping the peace now made, they absolutely refused to do so; which could not fail of filling him with suspicions of their ill intentions.

The war being renewed, the barons invite over prince *John* of *France* to take the crown

LXXXIII. FULL of joy at having carried all their demands, and provided as they imagined sufficiently for the performance of what had been granted, they thought their business done: and appointed a tournament to be held, on *July* 6, at *Stanford*. Whether *Robert Fitz Walter* had discovered any plot for delivering *London* into *John's* hands, or whether he was only apprehensive, that the absence of the nobility might tempt some of the citizens to form and execute such a design, he wrote to *William de Albini*; representing the great importance of keeping a place that served them for a sure receptacle, in their hands, and desiring that the

¹ Pat. 17 *John*, m. 21, n. 105, and m. 23, d. ² *Claus.* 17 *John*, n. 21, d. *Rymer*, i. 201. ³ *M. Parl.*

turnament might be put off till *Monday, July 13*, and be then held between *Stanes* and *Hounslow*, by which means their forces would be kept in the neighbourhood of the city. It was there held with great pomp: but it soon appeared that a peace made with diffidence on both sides, and with evident marks of that diffidence still subsisting, cannot be of long duration. They seem to have abated several of their first demands prudently enough, since the extorting of too many and too disadvantageous concessions from the crown at once, and in a way of violence, might endanger the loss of them all by a speedy revocation: but their method of securing them, by appointing conservators with extraordinary powers, was an unnatural one, utterly unknown to the *English* constitution. The forcing every body to swear to obey the orders of these new potentates, under the pains of forfeiture of their personal estate and confiscation of their real, till they complied with so unprecedented an injunction, was as violent and tyrannical an act as any they could complain of in *John's* conduct. The supremement authority of the conservators, however necessary it might appear in that juncture, was new, odious, and apt to raise envy, even in their own party: their powers were too great to be lasting, and their number too large to continue long united. It was the very thing that *John* laid most to heart, and which made him appear despicable even in his own eyes; whilst every body about his person was continually suggesting to him, “how low he was fallen, what a mean figure he made, that he must be the jest of all princes, and the contempt of his own people, whilst he submitted to be an underling to twenty-five kings, that lorded it over the nation.”

JOHN had returned from the conference to *Windsor* full of grief and vexation; and grew silent, reserved, and melancholy with these reflections: and removing thence to *Winchester*, passed in a few days to the *Isle of Wight*¹, where he lived retired from all the world, and considered with the few friends he had, what measures to take for the recovery of his power. He had one great advantage over his enemies, being still possessed of all his castles, and the places of greatest strength in the kingdom: and he sent orders to all the governors, to put the fortifications into the best condition they could, and supply them, in the most private manner, with provisions for a long defence. The times² were too distracted to allow a regular collection of the crown revenue; there were no more pleas in the exchequer, or in the sheriffs courts throughout the realm, scarce any body paying their rents, or obeying him in any point: it behoved him without loss of time to make the best use of what treasure he had saved; and as he durst not trust the *English*, he sent into *Guienne*, *Flanders*, and *Germany* to take into his pay a body of *Brabantins*, and what other forces he could raise in those countries, with orders to be at *Dover* by *Michaelmas*. He dispatched agents, and got *Pandulf* to go along with them, to *Rome*, to procure the Pope's assistance; who readily interposing³ in his behalf, on *August 24*, declared the accommodation between him and the barons null, as extorted by a terror that might make an impression on a man of the greatest firmness⁴; exhorted the latter not to insist on it, but return to their duty; and excommunicated in general, all disturbers of the peace of the king and kingdom; committing the execution of the sentence to the bishop of *Winchester*, the abbot of *Reading* and *Pandulf*; and ordering archbishop *Langton*, and the bishops of *England*, on pain of suspension, to publish it every *Sunday* and holiday in all churches throughout the kingdom. It was perhaps *John's* resentment against the *Londoners*, who were the best support of his enemies, and had destroyed the many parks and houses he had in the neighbourhood of their city, that put him upon⁵ writing, on *July 21*, to the king of *France*, with whom he was treating about some depredations committed on both sides since the truce, “that he had ordered the mayor and sheriffs of *London* to let the *French* merchants carry off their goods from *London* without any obstacle; but if they

¹ *Ad. Paris.*² *Roger de Wendover.*³ *Rymer*, i. 203, 204, 205.⁴ *Ib.* 208.⁵ *Ib.* 203.

“would

JOHN. " would not do so, he might distress the citizens thereof, that were in his power,
 A. D. 1215. " as he thought fit; and for his own part, he should not look upon the truce as
 " broken on that account." I mention this, because it seems to have been the
 onely foundation for the calumny, mentioned by *M. Paris*, and charging *John* with
 forging letters, dispersed in foreign countries, to represent the *English* as apostates.

THE first efforts of a number of independent persons engaged in a common association, are usually vigorous; and their general view being the same, their union frequently lasts till they have gained their end: but then they naturally cool; and success opening a large field for a diversity of sentiments, passions, and interests to operate, it becomes in a manner impossible to keep them together, and make them act with the same spirit, steadiness, and concert as before. When the barons were making their accommodation with *John*, several of the northern noblemen, the first promoters of the insurrection¹, did not like the terms, and declaring their dissent, retired to their homes: where they sought ways and means to break the treaty, which they disapproved; plundering people, and committing other hostilities. When *John* sent commissioners to swear all persons to the observation of the late charters, he ordered likewise his sheriffs and other officers at the same time to collect his revenue: but wherever those barons prevailed, the officers of the exchequer were hindered in this work, were seized and ill treated; which made him suspect the faith of the barons in general, and apprehend that the oath for the observation of the charters was only meant for a bond of association against himself. This was done to distress *John*; and to provoke him the more, they made a terrible havock of his houses, parks, and forests in the north; actions of such a nature; that the bishops apprehending the war would be renewed, used their good offices with both parties to engage them to keep the peace; and got them to agree upon a meeting, on *August 16*, at *Oxford*. The barons repaired thither with a vast train of followers: but *John* being as yet in no condition to come as well attended, sent messengers to complain of the injuries he had received, and to excuse his not coming, for fear of their great numbers. Another meeting was appointed about ten days after at *Stanes*; where *John's* commissioners appearing, protested in his name, that it was none of his fault, if the late treaty was not observed: and moved the bishops to publish the Pope's general excommunication of all that disturbed the peace of the king and kingdom. It was well known, that this censure was levelled at the barons, their accomplices and adherents: and *Langton* absolutely refusing to publish it, he was thereupon suspended by the prelates, to whom the execution of the bull was committed from entering the church, and celebrating divine service, notwithstanding his appeal to *Rome*; whither he was going to assist at a council, called by *Innocent* to meet on the 1st of *November*. His refusal did not prevent its being published by the bishop of *Winchester* and other prelates: but as the censure was general, it was little minded by either the nobility or the citizens of *London*. The barons returning thither prepared for war; distributing the governments of counties² to the principal persons among them, who had the best interest in each; and by an exercise of the royal prerogative, constituting them likewise justiciaries within their several districts. Some of them went into the country to fortify their castles, and erect new ones: whilst those that staid in *London*, sent for *W. de Albiney* from his seat of *Belvoir castle*, and committed to him the custody of that of *Rocheſter*; which archbishop *Langton*, making a dishonourable use of *John's* entrusting him with it, delivered into their hands, when he set out on his *Roman* voyage.

JOHN had passed about three months in the *Isle of Wight*, in a state of such retirement and³ indolence, that he became the jest of his enemies, and seemed to

¹ *Walter de Coventry*. ² The government of to *Robert de Ros*; of *Lincolnshire* to *W. Albiney*;
Essex was given to *Geffrey Fitz Piers*; of *Norfolk* of *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon* shires to *Saber de*
 and *Suffolk* to *Roger de Crissy*; of *Northumberland* *Quincy* earl of *Winchester*. ³ *M. Paris*.

mind nothing but taking his diversion on the sea, and engaging the affections of the J O H N. seamen, particularly those of the *Cinque ports*; a point wherein he succeeded, and A. D. 1213. which proved of more consequence to his service, than the barons apprehended. The true reason of his solitude and inactivity was, that he waited the return of his agents from *Rome*, and the coming over of the foreign troops, which he had sent *Hugh de Boves* and others to levy in *Germany* and *Flanders*. *M. Paris* says, that this commander, embarking at *Calais* on *September 26*, in order¹ to land at *Dover* with forty thousand men, which he had enlisted in those parts, met with such a storm, that all his fleet being wrecked, he was drowned himself, and of his forty thousand soldiers, not a man escaped. But this is a monstrous account, differing from all other writers: and it is very certain, that *John*, setting sail about *Michaelmas* from the *Isle of Wight*, found, upon his arrival at *Dover*, an army of foreigners, *Poitevins*, *Gascons*, *Flemings*, *Brabantins*, and *Germans*, sufficient to make him master of the field, and enable him to lay siege to *Rochester Castle*. *Robert Fitz Walter* marched from *London* to *Dartford* in order to relieve it: but, finding all the bridges in the way broken down, and all passages possessed by an enemy much superior to him in number, retreated back to *London*. *W. de Albiney*, however, with a garrison of an hundred and forty knights, and their followers, made a brave defence for two months: till the walls being beaten down by military engines, and his provisions, after eating all their horse flesh in the place, failing, he was forced to surrender on *St. Andrew's day* at discretion. *John* had found the siege very expensive, and had lost abundance of men before the castle: and was so irritated on these accounts, that he would have put all the noblemen and gentlemen, taken in it, to death, if *Savary de Mauleon* had not represented to him, that it was uncertain how long the war might last; and if some of his own knights should chance to be taken, they would be treated in the same manner, by way of reprisal. This consideration prevailed with him to send *W. de Albiney*, *W. de Lancaster*, *W. de Einesford*, *Tho. de Moulton*, *Osbert Giffard*, with others of the best quality, to *Corfe Castle*, and distribute the rest of the noblemen in other castles: but all their followers, except the cross-bowmen, who had done the most mischief to the besiegers, he ordered to be hanged.

ARCHBISHOP *Langton*, in the mean time, arriving at *Rome*², was so clearly convicted of intelligence with the barons, and encouraging them in their insurrection, that his suspension was confirmed by the Pope on³ *November 4*, in the great council there assembled: nor was it the only mortification he underwent. He had formed the design of governing all the ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom, by getting his brother *Simon Langton*, a man of no merit, and generally odious, chosen archbishop of *York*: but *Innocent*, knowing his ambition, vacated that election; and enjoining the chapter to send deputies to the council in order to the choice of *Walter de Grey* bishop of *Worcester*, whom he charged them on their obedience to elect; this last being elected, was confirmed, and received his pall upon giving security for the payment of ten thousand pounds sterling. The confirmation of the suspension of the archbishop of *Canterbury* was published in the beginning of *December*, in the abbey of *S. Albans*: and sent from thence to all the cathedral and conventual churches in *England*, in order to be notified to the kingdom. The Pope had likewise, in the the same⁴ council, excommunicated all the chief barons that were in arms against *John*, by name, with all their assistants and favourers, particularly the citizens of *London*; and had laid the city, as well as the lands of the barons, under an interdict: and after the council broke up, in a bull dated *December 16*, he published these censures, which soon came to be known in *England*. They gave a terrible blow to the cause of the barons, whose affairs had suffered greatly by the taking of

¹ *Chron. Malb. of.*² *M. Paris.*³ *Clauſ. 17 Joh. m. 16. d.*⁴ *M. Paris.*

JOHN. so many noble persons in the castle of *Rocheſter*: and whether it was the terror of these censures, or because their party was sinking, they were now deserted by some of the most considerable of their number¹, particularly by *Gilbert Fitz Rainfroy*, and the constable of *Chester*; who renouncing their association, returned to *John's* obedience.

THIS prince was now in a flourishing condition: and had raised forces enough to compose two mighty armies; with one of which he marched northwards: and the other he left under the earl of *Salisbury* and *Falcaſius de Breant*, to repel the excursions of the barons at *London*. This last took the castles of *Bedford* and *Hanſlope*, belonging to *W. Beauchamp* and *W. Mauduit*, about the same time that *Tunbridge Castle* was reduced by the garrison of *Rocheſter*: and the two generals leaving very numerous garrisons in those of *Windsor*, *Berkhamſtede*, and *Hertford*, to straiten *London*, and hinder the passage of victuals thither, marched into *Essex*, and the shires that formerly composed the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, taking the castles, destroying the houses, and wasting the lands of the barons. *John* proceeded in the same manner in his march northward, taking the barons castles that lay in his way, till he came about *Chriſtmas day* to *Nottingham*; from whence he summoned the strong castle of *Belvoir*, belonging to *W. de Albiney*, who had left it well provided with every thing to sustain a long siege: but the garrison surrendered it, on *December 27*, upon the threats of their lord's being put to death, if they did not give it up immediately, without any capitulation.

ONE reason of *John's* march into the north was, an invasion lately made into *England* by *Alexander*, a youth about eighteen years of age, who had lately succeeded his father *William* in the throne of *Scotland*. This prince² had invested the castle of *Norham* on *October 19*, and, after having lain before it till the end of *November*, had been forced to raise the siege, and retire home with his forces, without having gained any advantage, but what he might in time receive from the male-content barons of *Northumberland*, who had done homage to him at *Felton*. The *Brabantins* and foreign troops in *John's* pay, made horrible havock in their march upon all the lands of the barons: and are said to have committed great cruelties. The nobility of *Yorkshire* fled at their approach; and leaving their estates at their mercy, took refuge in *Scotland*; doing homage, and swearing fealty to *Alexander*, on *January 11*, in the chapter-house of *Mebres*. *John* pursued them, setting fire to all their houses and farms, which in the hurry of their departure they had left unburnt; their design being to deprive his forces of whatever might serve for their subsistence and convenience: and taking possession of their castles, committed them to *Robert de Viepont*, *Brien de Liſle*, and *Geſſrey de Lucy*, with orders to compleat the destruction he had begun upon the lands of the fugitives. The barons of *Northumberland*, unable to oppose him, and despairing of mercy after their open revolt, and swearing fealty to a foreign prince, followed the example of those of *Yorkshire*: and burnt their seats, farms, corn, villages, and towns, according as *John* advanced. Thus *Mitford* and *Morpeth* were consumed by the flames on *January 7*, *Alnewick* on *January 9*, and *Werk* on *January 11*, and on the 16th of the same month, *Roxburgh*, with its suburbs, was laid in ashes. The next day he made himself master of the town and castle of *Berwick*, and in three days more of *Haddington*, *Dunbar*, and other places; which were all burnt, as *Berwick* likewise was in his return; ³ *John* himself beginning the inglorious work, by setting fire to the house in which he had lodged himself. Having thus reduced all the castles of the barons, from *London* to the borders of *Scotland* (except one in *Yorkshire* belonging to *Robert de Ros*, and that of *Mont Sorel* in *Leiceſterſhire*) he committed all between the *Teeſe* and the *Tweed*, to the custody of

¹ *Rymer*, i. 206.² *Chron. Angliſ.*³ *Al. Paris.*

Hugh de Baliol and *Philip de Hulcote*, with a good body of troops to defend the country: and marching with the rest of his army to the borders of *Wales*, took several castles in those parts; demolishing some, and putting good garrisons into others.

THE barons were now reduced to a very low condition, having scarce any place of defence left, besides *London*: and seeing their ruin unavoidable, without the assistance of a foreign power, they resolved in concert with the chief men of the city, to send *Saber* earl of *Winton*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, with letters under their seals, to *Philip* king of *France*, to send his son *Louis* over with an army to take possession of the throne of *England*. They made no scruple of rejecting *John*, to whom they had so often sworn allegiance; but the difficulty was how to cook up a title by hereditary right for *Louis*, that the nation, which knew no other rule of succession, might be drawn in to espouse his cause: and in defect of better, made use of the pretences set forth in the conference on this subject before Pope *Innocent*, and in *Louis's* declaration sent to the abbot of *S. Augustine's Canterbury*. Their first point was to set aside *John*; for which, besides that he had no right to the crown whilst his nephew *Arthur* was living, there were two reasons assigned¹; one was the sentence given against him in the court of peers at *Nottingham*, in his brother *Richard's* reign, upon his return home from captivity; by which he had, for raising a rebellion in *England*, and joining with the king of *France*, been declared guilty of treason, and adjudged to forfeit, not only all his possessions, but all his future claims in *England*. The other was founded on the judgment of the peers of *France*, pronouncing him guilty of *Arthur's* murder, and declaring all his territories in *France* forfeited. These pretences were both weak, because *Richard* had pardoned the first forfeiture, and the latter did not relate to *England*: and therefore another was advanced, grounded on *John's* resigning the crown, and making the kingdom tributary to the Pope, subjecting it to a foreign power without the consent of the barons; who had taken arms on account of an act, which, being subversive of the constitution, and altering the nature of it, was in effect a renunciation of the royalty. The next point being to make *Louis* the next heir in blood, it must be observed, that of *Henry II's* five sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffrey*, and *John*, the three first were dead without issue; *Geffrey* was likewise deceased, leaving *Arthur*, who had been murdered by *John*, and *Eleanor*, still living: ² and of that king's three daughters, *Maude* the eldest, and *Jane* the youngest, were both dead, and only *Eleanor*, queen of *Castille*, still survived. *Maude*, being married to *Henry V*, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, had by her *Henry VI*, duke of those provinces; *Ingelburge*, married to *Waldemar II*, king of *Denmark*; and *Maude*, wife of *Geffrey* count of *Perche*. It is needless to mention the descendants of these two ladies: but *Henry VI* had issue, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony* and count *Palatine*; *Otho IV*, emperor of *Germany*; *William*, from whom the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* are descended; *Agnes*, wife of *Otho* count *Palatine*; and *Irmengarde*, married to *Herman* marquis of *Baden*. All these, with their issue, were in the order of succession entitled to the crown before *Eleanor*, the second daughter of *Henry II*, or her children, of which there were four now living, viz. *Henry I*, king of *Castille*; *Berengaria*, wife to *Alfonso* king of *Leon*; *Blanche*, married to *Louis* of *France*; *Urraca* and *Eleanor*, both married. It was necessary for *Louis*, when he set up his wife *Blanche's* claim to the crown of *England*, to have recourse to various pretences in order to elude the prior right of so many different persons of imperial, royal, and other the most illustrious families in *Europe*: and, to set aside the claims of *Eleanor*, daughter of *Geffrey*, elder brother to *John*, and of all

¹ *Annal. Mag. par.* M. Paris, p. 298. *Chron. H. Thome*, col. 1868. ² *Sandford's General Hist. of England*, p. 69.

JOHN. the descendants of his eldest sister, he made use of *John's* own absurd doctrine¹, that a son had no right to represent his father, and that a younger son or daughter living ought to succeed, preferably to the son or daughter of a deceased elder brother or sister. Thus all the sons of *Henry II* being dead, but *John* (who, it was pretended, had forfeited for treason before he had any issue, and thereby barred his future children, as well as incapacitated himself) and that king's eldest daughter *Maude* being also deceased, he maintained the right of succession to be vested in the onely surviving daughter *Eleanor*. His wife *Blanche* was indeed but a younger daughter of this *Eleanor*: but as neither her mother, nor her brother the king of *Castille*, nor her elder sister the queen of *Leon*, laid any claim to the crown of *England*, *Louis* therefore asserted *Blanche's* title to be good; it not being fit, that she should lose her right in the order of succession, through their silence or neglect of claiming.

THIS is the sum of what was alledged to patch up a sort of title for *Louis*², whom the male-content barons pretended to choose, and invited over to be their king; in hopes that a great part of *John's* foreign forces, consisting of the subjects of *France*, would desert from his service, when the son of their own monarch appeared in the field. *Philip* would not let his son accept the invitation of the barons, till they had sent over twenty-four young noblemen as hostages for their fidelity: and then, whilst *Louis* was preparing for his expedition, he sent over the castellans of *S. Omer* and *Arras*, *Giles de Melun*, and other noblemen, with seven thousand men³, who arrived, on *February 27*, at *London*. The barons stood in need of those succours, *John* being returned with his army out of the north, and hovering about the city, as if he proposed to attack it in form: but finding it too difficult an enterprize, turned into *Essex*, where he took the castles of *Plessey*, *Heveningham*, and *Colchester*. The barons interest in that country was now lessened by the death of *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, commonly called *Mandeville*; who had lately married *John's* divorced wife *Isabel*, heiress of the honour of *Gloucester*, and was killed by one of the *French* knights, in a tournament, at *London*. The citizens of this place, elated at the arrival of the *French* succours, and their success in destroying a fleet of sixty-five piratical vessels, which had for some time blocked up the mouth of the *Thames*, laughed equally at the Pope's excommunication, and at the shews of besieging the city. *John*, seeing no likelihood of succeeding in such an enterprize, marched with his forces into *Kent* to secure the *Cinque ports* in his interest, in hopes of distressing *London* by sea, and to oppose *Louis*, if he should make his descent in that country.

THIS young prince having got six hundred ships and eighty cogs together at *Calais*, under the command of one *Eustace*, a pirate, for the transportation of his forces, sailed from thence, and landed at *Stanore*, in the *Isle of Thanet*, on *May 21*: but his fleet being dispersed by a storm, could not join him till two days after. *John* had proposed to have fought him at sea; and had with that view assembled a great number of ships from *Lynne*, *Yarmouth*, *Dunwich*, and other places: but this fleet being destroyed by a storm, all his dependance lay in his land forces, which proved a very precarious support. He was at *Dover* when *Louis* landed: but find-

¹ *John*, to give a colour to his usurpation of the crown, and to defeat the right of representation in *Arthur*, son to his elder brother, had, after he got possession, procured the course of descents to be altered in *Normandie*, by enacting that the younger son should be preferred before the son of the elder brother (*Custom. c. 25, 99.*) and attempted to introduce, or rather impose, the like method of transmitting inheritances in this realm: and an entry was made in one of the plea-rolls in his reign for that purpose by his special command. *Henry III*, who was in as bad, if not a worse, situation than

his father, because he could not pretend his claim of survivorship, while *Eleanor*, his father's elder brother's daughter, was living, made a like fruitless attempt, and, with a shameless disregard of truth, transmitted to *Ireland* a decree asserting the custom of *England* (*Rot. Glouc. 13 H. iii. m. 14. d.*) *Non est consuetudo vel lex in terra Anglie, quod filia fratris alienius primogeniti ante patrem morientis, fratrem minorem patri immediate succedentem possit vel debeat impetere.*

² *Al. Paris.* ³ *Rad. Niger. f. 114.*

ing reason to suspect his foreign soldiers might desert him in a day of battle, he left the castle of that place in the custody of *Hubert de Burgh*, and retired out of *Kent* to *Guilford*, and from thence to *Winchester*. In this retreat, he met *Gualo* the Pope's legate, just landed from *France*; who pursuing his master's orders, excommunicated *Louis* by name, all the *French* that had either come with him, or been sent over before him, all his adherents, and those of the barons, all the clergy and religious of *London*, that had said divine service, notwithstanding the interdict and excommunications lately denounced by the abbot of *Abingdon*; and particularly *Simon Langton*, who had been the chief instrument of spiriting them up to such an act of contumacy. *Louis*, in the mean time, took *Rochester Castle* on ¹ May 30: and having made himself master of all *Kent*, except the castle of *Dover*, came, on *Thursday*, ² June 2, to *London*, where he received the homage and fealty of the citizens and barons; taking in his turn an oath to put them in possession of their rights and estates. The *French* historians say, he was crowned; but this is a great mistake, for no bishop durst attempt to use the right of unction to an excommunicate person: and though he took upon him to grant lands and titles, and made *Simon Langton* his high chancellor, yet even in these grants, he assumed only the style of *Domini Regis Franciæ primogenitus* ³, and used on his great seal *Fleurs de Lis Semée*; but neither took the title of king of *England*, nor dated his charters by any year of his reign ⁴, according to the method of our chancery, nor ever quartered the armes of the kingdom.

THE greatest part of *John's* foreign forces consisted of *Flemings* ⁵, and other vassals of the crown of *France*: who immediately quitted his service, not caring to fight against the heir of that crown; scarce any remaining with him but the *Gascons*, and some *Poitevins*, upon which last he could not rely. Thus deserted, he was not able to make head against his enemies in the field: and had no party to take, but to retire towards *Bristol* and *Gloucester*, after having put strong garrisons into *Windsor*, *Wallingford*, the *Devizes*, *Corfe*, *Wareham*, and other castles. *Louis*, to improve the opportunity offered him by the weakness of his adversary, sent *William Fitz Piers* earl of *Essex*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *W. de Huntingfield* into *Essex* and *Suffolk*, who reduced a great part of those counties: and marching himself into *Sussex*, took all the fortresses in the country; but could not quell *W. de Collingham*, who, with a thousand archers, made incursions from the woods and forests in those parts, killed several thousand of the *French* in different rencounters, and held out all the time that these hostilities lasted. There was no attacking this man in the fastnesses, wherein he kept, without great disadvantage: and the castles of *Riegate*, *Guilford*, and *Farnham*, being surrendered, *Louis* marched to *Winchester*; taking the city on June 14, and eleven days after, both the king's and bishop's castles. Thither *Hugh de Neville* came to him, and made his submission; delivering up the castle of *Marlborough*: and by the surrender of *Odibam* and others, he became master of all the country as far as *Corfe-castle* in *Dorsetshire*. He made but an indifferent use of this success ⁶, in bestowing the earldoms of *Wilts* and *Sussex* on the count of *Nevers*, a *French* nobleman, who oppressed the people to such a degree, that he was not only detested himself, but rendered the name of his master odious. The avarice of the count was in other respects very prejudicial to *Louis*; for being commander in chief of the forces employed in the siege of *Windsor*, when he had reduced the castle to the point of surrender, he took a sum of money from the castellan, and retired with his army.

THE first successes of *Louis* startled every body that had as yet adhered to *John*; whom they knew to be generally hated, and looked upon his cause to be desperate.

¹ *Annal. Waverl. ib.* ² *Trivet. Ypod. Neustr.* ³ *Rymer, i. 219, 221, 222.* ⁴ There is an original charter of his preserved in the *Harleian Library* 43. B. 37. which is dated in *Obsidione Hereford. A. D. 1216, Novemb. 21.* ⁵ *M. Paris.* ⁶ *Chr. Dunstable.*

JOHN.
A. D. 1216.

This is said to be the reason¹, why the earls of *Warrenne*, *Salisbury*, *Arundel*, *Albemarle*, and *Oxford* deserted him, and submitted to *Louis*; who was so much encouraged by the promising aspect of his affairs, that he had, on² *June* 14, summoned all the prelates and nobility of *England* to come to *London*, and do him homage. Among others so summoned was *Alexander* king of *Scotland*; and this prince, pursuant to his orders³, raising a body of forces, advanced to *Carlisle*, on *August* 8; taking the city, but not the castle: and marching through the middle of *England*, came to *London*, and did the usual homage, upon *Louis*, and the *English* barons swearing, that they would not make peace with *John* without his concurrence. These were fair appearances, but yet attended by some disasters, which put a stop to his current of success. The northern barons raised a small army, and invested *York*; but unable to take it, were glad to compound for a sum of money to raise the siege; and attacking afterwards *Barnard's castle* in the palatinate of *Durham*⁴, *Eustace de Vesey* was there slain, to the utter discouragement of their party, and ruin of their forces, which dispersed upon that accident. *W. Mareschal* the younger had got *Worcester* to declare for *Louis*⁵: but it was, on *July* 17, recovered by his father the earl of *Pembroke*, the earl of *Chester*, and *Fulk de Breant*, who soon after recovered and fortified the *Isle of Ely*. The *Cinque ports* fitting out a fleet for *John's* service⁶, intercepted a great supply of men, armes, and provisions, coming from *France* for the service of *Louis*: and whilst they interrupted the communication with *London* by sea, *Hubert de Burgh* infested all the neighbourhood of *Dover* by continual excursions. The castle of this place was, at this time, reputed the key of *England*: and *Louis*, after he had taken *Winchester*, putting a stop to his conquests in the west, had marched back with his army, and invested it on *July* 22; but found it more difficult work than he imagined. *Hubert de Burgh*, the governor, was a vigilant, brave, and experienced officer; and having a garrison of an hundred and forty knights, besides a large body of gentlemen, and other resolute warriors, repulsed the *French* in all their assaults with such slaughter, that *Louis*⁷, in a rage, swore he would not raise the siege, till he had taken the place, and hanged all the garrison. It was a rash vow; he lay before it fifteen weeks, till after the decease of his competitor, and was forced at last, after losing all that time before it, which he might have employed infinitely more to his advantage, in subduing the middle and north parts of the kingdom, to quit the enterprize. But what did him still more disservice⁸, was his excluding the *English* from his councils and confidence; consulting only with the *French*, and putting them at the head of all affairs, and into the government of all fortresses: which raised their vanity to such a height, that they were imprudent enough to upbraid the others, with being traitors. *Louis* himself seemed to treat them as such, since he did not restore them their lands: and when he had recovered their castles, kept them to himself. This ill usage was the reason, why the earl of *Salisbury*, *W. Mareschal* the younger, *Walter Beauchamp*, and a great many other noblemen deserted him: and their defection increasing his jealousy of the rest, might perhaps contribute to the resolution⁹ (which the viscount of *Melun* declared with his dying words) *Louis* had taken, to punish all that had adhered to him against *John* as traitors to their lord, to banish them for ever, and to root all their families out of the nation.

John's death
and character.

LXXXIV. THE author of the *Chronicle of Melrose* is of opinion, that the earl of *Salisbury*, whose earldom *Louis* gave to the count of *Nevers*, went to him at first,

¹ Chron. Job. Abb. Petriburg.

² M. Paris.

³ Chron. Mailros.

⁴ Chron. Dunstaple.

⁵ Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. in Angl. Sacr. i. 483.

⁶ Chron. Dunstaple. Rad. Niger.

⁷ M. Paris.

⁸ Chron. Dunstaple.

⁹ M. Paris.

not so much to do him service, as to obstruct his measures, and discover his councils and correspondences. But however this was, the earl, after he had returned to *John*, was very active for this prince's interests: and raised the siege laid to *Exeter*¹, by some of the barons; whom he put to flight, and took several of them prisoners. Whilst *Louis* was losing his time before *Dover Castle*, the barons about *London* raising an army², took the castles of *Berkhamsted*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norwich*, *Oxford*, and others; making themselves masters of the greatest part of the country of the *East-Angles*. *John* had been employed most of this time in the³ marches of *South-Wales*, taking the castles of *Reginald de Braouse* (who, with *Llewellyn*, prince of *North-Wales*, whose daughter he had lately married, had taken the part of the barons) and in raising there and in the west an *English* army, on which he could depend. When he had got a considerable body of forces together, he marched from thence into *Norfolk*, to stop the progress of the barons: and having wasted their lands in that country, advanced to the relief of the castle of *Lincoln*, besieged by *Gilbert de Gand*, whom *Louis* had made earl of that county. *Gilbert* raised the siege upon his approach: and *John* having gained his point, and wasted the *Isle of Axholme*, belonging to the *Mowbrays*, who had taken part with *Louis*, returned into *Norfolk*. After passing a few days at *Lynne*, which he seems to have made the rendezvous of his forces in those⁴ parts, he resolved to return and assemble all his forces in the middle of *England*⁵, in order to venture a battle with his adversaries: and leaving *Lynne* about *October* 12, marched the shortest way into *Lincolnshire*. This lay over⁶ the washes between that shire and *Norfolk*, a dangerous passage by reason of the flowing in of the tide, which covers them at high water: and not timing it well, he lost all his carriages, treasure, portable chapel, *regalia*, and baggage. This being a very great loss, affected him exceedingly; and the more so, because he was indisposed; though he continued his journey⁷ by *Sleaford*, till he came, on *October* 16, to the castle of *Newark*,⁸ where he died, on the 19th of that month, of a dysentery; his bowels being buried in the abbey of *Croxton*, and his corpse in the cathedral of *Worcester*, between those of *S. Oswald* and *S. Wulstan*.

⁹ *GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS*, speaking of *John* in his younger years before he came to the crown, represents him to be of a stature somewhat above the middle size, and handsome enough in his person: but of a light, trifling, variable mind; fond of ease, averse to fatigues; indulging his appetites, and prone to corruption; led easily into ill ways; harsh to all that attempted to reclaim him; effeminate; given to pleasure, and much fitter for the wars of *Venus*, than those of *Bellona*. *M. Paris*, and the monkish writers that follow him, provoked at *John's* exactions on the church, exaggerate matters to his prejudice in many cases, particularly in their charge of irreligion, and the legend of his applying to the *Miramolin* of *Morocco* for protection, after he had submitted in all things to the Pope, and placed all his confidence in the protection and support he was to derive from *Innocent*; and in forwarding *Ascension day* a week, purely to get a pretence for representing *Peter of Pontefract*, as a true prophet, after he had been hanged for his false predictions, and the dangerous seditious reports he and his son had spread about the nation. But this prince's sloth, indolence, inactivity, and cowardice appear too remarkably in the general tenour of his conduct, particularly in the loss of *Normandie*, to admit of any doubt: and it was perhaps to cover the last of these defects, that he affected to bluster, talk big, and threaten furiously on many occasions, though never more than in the midst of his disgraces. Such airs are certainly very ridiculous,

¹ *Chron. Dunstable.*² *M. Paris.*³ *Chron. Dunstable.*⁴ *Pat. 18 Job. m. 18. n. 65.*⁵ *Ypod. Neust. p. 462.**Rob. Glouc.*⁶ *M. Paris. Rad. Niger.*⁷ *Brady's Hist. of Engl.*

vol. ii. p. 516.

⁸ *Ibid.**Trivet. Chron. Joh. Petriburg. Annal. Eccl. Wigorn.*⁹ *Topog. Hibern.**Dist. iii. c. 50.*

JOHN. when a man's affairs are evidently in a ruinous condition: and when he dares not stir a step to save them, to be then bragging of what great things he will do in futurity, is a sure mark of a wretched understanding, and an arrogant imperious nature, which were undoubtedly a considerable part of *John's* character. He knew not how to treat any body well: and the haughtiness of his carriage to the nobility was insupportable. He certainly followed his own nature, though perhaps the consciousness of his usurpation, making him despair of being served out of principle and conscience, might dispose him likewise to it, when he laid it down for the rule of his government, to do every thing with an high hand, and to govern purely by terror. It is a way indeed that usurpers generally take, perhaps by the necessity of their affairs, because they have no right either to the obedience or love of those that chance to be their subjects: but it is an unnatural one, and must sooner or later end in ruin, according to the circumstances of times, and the capacity of the person that governs. *John* had very mean natural parts; and though he had some craft, the essence whereof lies in falsehood, he had no judgment: and acting the tyrant in all shapes, he soon involved himself in difficulties that were to him insuperable; the opinion which every one entertained of his being faithless in his promises, and implacable in his revenge, hindering the nobility, that had joined *Louis*, from returning to his obedience, when they came to know the mischiefs ready to fall upon them by the *French* measures. The pride of his heart would not suffer him to correct the ill measures he had taken, and rendered him incapable of advice; his usurpation shewed the rapaciousness of his temper: and his subjects had little reason to expect he would be more tender of their rights and properties, than he had been of his nephew *Arthur's*. They accordingly, and more especially the clergy, suffered under him oppressions and exactions they had never known before; and the nobility, who had found great ease under his father's reign, by commuting for personal service by very moderate scutages, felt under his these scutages vastly enhanced, and (what was still worse) had their estates¹ seized in many cases for want of immediate payment.

It appears from the *Pipe-rolls* of his reign, that in the first eight years of it, there were seven scutages collected; the first, third, fourth, and sixth assessed at two marks, the second at three marks, the fifth at two marks and an half, and the seventh at twenty shillings a knight's fee; besides one in his twelfth year at three marks for the expedition to *Ireland*; two others in his thirteenth for *Wales* and *Scotland*, the former at two marks, the latter at twenty shillings, and another in his sixteenth year at three marks for the service of *Poitou*. There are tallages, some on his own demesnes, others laid also on those of his barons, in eight different years of his reign; but only the gross sums laid on towns or manors are mentioned in the *Pipe-rolls*. As to the rates, *Hoveden* says, that in *A. D.* 1200 was assessed at three shillings a ploughland, and in *A. D.* 1207, *M. Paris* says, he took a thirteenth part of all the moveables, as well of the clergy as laity. This last writer informs us, that in *A. D.* 1205, he levied an infinite sum of money upon the nobility that would not follow him beyond sea: and in *A. D.* 1210, extorted an hundred and forty thousand pounds from the clergy. It is observable in the *Pope-rolls*, that the fines which he took from those that did not go on the expeditions to which they were summoned, but staid at home without leave, exceeded the rate of the scutages, and were both paid together. The compositions he forced religious houses to make from time to time, seem to have been accounted for by particular commissioners, and not by the sheriffs: and his other illegal exactions, mentioned by historians, probably were levied in the same manner. This renders it impracticable to make any computation thereof; though we may reasonably suppose them to have been

¹ *Rot. Pip. 7 Joh. Norf. & Suff. Henr. de Criketot, &c.*

full as exorbitant as they are represented, or he could never have been so universally detested, as he appears to have been by all orders of men throughout the nation.

JOHN was first married to *Isabel*, the youngest daughter of *William* earl of *Gloucester*: but having no children by her, was divorced from her; and she was married afterwards to *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, the second earl of *Essex* of that name, and upon his death to *Hubert de Burgh* earl of *Kent*. His second wife was *Isabel*, daughter of *Aymar* count of *Engoulesme*, whose conduct gave him no little pain, and afforded him continual occasions of jealousy. He had by her two sons, viz. *Henry*, born *October 1, A. D. 1207*; who succeeded him in the throne; and *Richard*, born *January 6, A. D. 1209*, who was afterwards earl of *Cornwall*, and king of the *Romans*; and three daughters. These were, 1. *Jane*, born *July 22, A. D. 1210*, and granted at first to *Hugh de Lusignan*, eldest son of *Hugh* count of *la Marche*, but married on *June 25, A. D. 1221*, to *Alexander* king of *Scotland*, by whom she had no children; dying on *March 4, A. D. 1238*, without issue. 2. *Eleanor*, married, *A. D. 1224*, to *William Mareschal* the younger, earl of *Pembroke*, who dying *A. D. 1231*, she thereupon made a vow of chastity: but afterwards, against her brother's inclinations, married *Simon Montfort* earl of *Leicester*; and upon the death of her second husband, *A. D. 1265*, retired into *France* with her children. 3. *Isabel*, born *A. D. 1214*, and married to the emperor *Frederic II*, on *July 20, A. D. 1235*, at *Wormes*; she died *December 1, A. D. 1241*, in childbed.

His natural issue were, 1. *Richard*, begotten on a daughter of the earl of *Warrene*, and called *Richard de Wareme*¹; who married *Robesia*, daughter and heir of *Fulbert de Dever*, and had by her two daughters, viz. *Lora* married to *William Marmyon* of *Polesworth* in *Warwickshire*; and *Isabel* wife of *David de Strabolgy* earl of *Atthole*. 2. *Geoffrey Fitz Roy*, who died *A. D. 1205*, in an expedition to *Poitou*. 3. *John*², a clergyman and prebendary of *Shireburn*. 4. *Henry*³, who had a grant of *Robert Fitz Walter's* estate in *Cornwall*, and to whom his brother *Henry III* gave the manor of *Waltham*. 5. *Osbert Giffard*⁴, who had a grant of part of the estate of *Thomas de Arderne* in *Oxfordshire*. 6. *Oliver*⁵, begotten of one *Avice* (who seems to be of the family of *Tracy*) and called *Oliver de Durdent*; he had grants of the manors of *Frome* and *Tonge*, and is said to be buried at *Westminster*. 7. *Joane*⁶, begotten on *Agatha*, a daughter of *Robert* earl of *Ferrers*, and married to *Llewellyn* prince of *North-Wales*. *Robert* of *Gloucester* makes *John de Courcy*, the famous conqueror of *Ulster*, to be one of this prince's natural sons; but this is evidently a mistake. There is however mention made of others, as, ⁷*Reginald*, ⁸*Swynuij*, and ⁹*Eudo*; though none of them gave rise to any noble family, whose great actions could put it on an equal foot with those, which had been dishonoured by the lust of their father.

¹ *Claus.* 7 *H. iii.* m. 20. *Robert de Gloucester.*
² *Rot. Pat.* 16 *Joh.* p. 7. *Fin.* 9 *Joh.* m. 10.
³ *Claus.* 18 *Joh.* m. 7. & 1 *H. iii.* m. 13. &
 6 *H. iii.* m. 5, 10. & 10 *H. iii.* & *Claus.* 16 *Joh.*
 m. 2. ⁴ *Cl.* 18 *Joh.* m. 8. *Pat.* 17 *Joh.* m. 6.
 & 18 *Joh.* m. 8. *Cl.* 17 *Joh.* p. 2. m. 16.
⁵ *Cl.* 18 *Joh.* m. 7. & 17 *Joh.* p. 1. m. 17. &

1 *H. iii.* m. 6, 13, 15. *Pat.* 16 *Joh.* p. 1. d. &
 1 *H. iii.* m. 3. *M. Paris*, p. 292.
⁶ *Vincent*, p. 204. *Cart.* 6 *Joh.* n. 32. *Rymer*, i.
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 13 *H. iii.* m. 4. *Fin.* 13 *H. iii.* m. 3, 4.
⁷ *Claus.* 15 *Joh.* m. 4. ⁸ *Pat.* 3 *H. ii.* m. 2.
⁹ *Pat.* 21 *H. iii.* n. 13.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

A N I N D E X

Directing to the *principal Matters* in this VOLUME.

[N. B. *A general INDEX to the whole, with the Names of Persons and Places, will be added to the last Volume.*]

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